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STATISTICS and POLITICS

SECOND EDITION

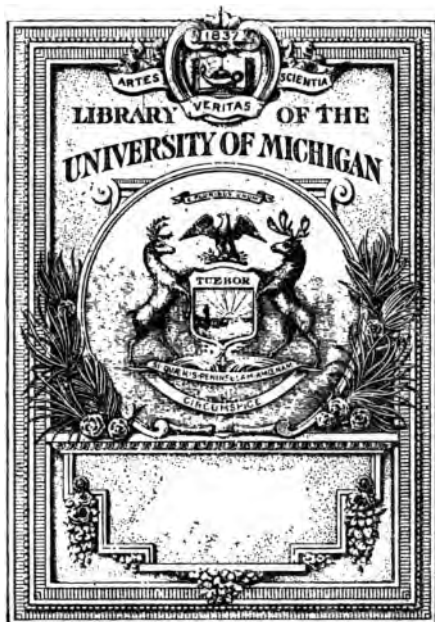
By

JOHN W. FARLEY



IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ALL DISCUSSIONS OF WAYS AND MEANS TO
PREVENT WAR, AND PLANS FOR COMBINED NATIONS MUST BE BASED ON
A UNION IN THOUGHT AND HEART OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PEOPLES

General John J. Pershing, speech in London, July 17, 1918



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STATISTICS **and** **POLITICS**

SECOND EDITION

William
By
JOHN W. EARLEY, LL.B., LL.M., D.C.L.
Member of the Bar
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

SAXLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
1920

John W. Farley
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Sociology
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JW.

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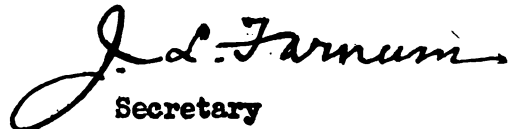
March 21 1919

Dear Sir:

The Librarian duly received your letter of March 12 concerning the names of authors who have written books with the title Statistics and politics, etc.

The Chief Bibliographer, to whom it was referred for attention, reports that it does not appear that there is another book with exactly the same title as that used by you; and he has been unable to locate any book or magazine article in the Library of Congress that treats of the Republican party and the negro in Tennessee in the statistical manner in which you have treated it.

Very truly,


Secretary

John W. Farley Esq.
Goodwyn Institute Building
Memphis Tennessee

Foreword to Second Edition

The favor with which the first edition of this publication was received, although a very limited edition, has encouraged the author to give further study to statistics in their relation to suffrage.

In this edition there is discussed questions relating to representation in Congress, in the Electoral College and in Conventions based on persons not citizens of the United States; reduction in representation in Republican National Conventions from the South in its relation to the South regardless of party, possible Republican success in the South being traded off for negro votes in Northern cities, and disfranchisement. These subjects were not discussed in the first edition.

Some additional tables from the 1910 United States Census reports have been added. There is

an appendix in which reference is made to "The South Today," "The Old South," "Anglo-Saxons," "Origin of the Saxons" and "Home."

The importance of the question of the first edition appear to have interested the readers.

The author earnestly urges the first edition to give him the benefit of suggestions, whether such be adverse; and, if any publication to this publication that a copy be sent to him.

February 12, 1920.

Foreword to First Edition

It is hoped that the presentation of the facts herein reviewed will, in a measure, be as interesting and instructive to the thoughtful reader as the analysis of this information has been to the author. This is the reason offered for presenting this publication.

As it appears that woman suffrage by amendment to the Federal Constitution will soon be in effect throughout the nation, problems affecting suffrage are extremely vital.

At the close of the Great War when a nation is being fused in the crucible it is time to remember and be guided by the motto inscribed on the ancient Grecian temple, "Know Thyself."

Present political expediency so often guides a people into wrong channels that it is well that times come in the life of a nation that make it possible to take a census, check up, and see what are the political tendencies in order that errors may be corrected and new policies formulated.

It is believed that in the following pages will be found information that will impress those who realize that a responsibility rests on those who know what are the tendencies of a people. It is hoped that this information will aid in guiding them to correct actions that will preserve and strengthen Anglo-Saxon liberty and American institutions.

Not from personal politics, but out of free discussion of political principles and intelligent action thereon comes good government under Anglo-Saxon institutions. One of the fundamentals for securing this result is two responsible political parties.

The greatest need of the South is to aid in its dynamic pulse to aid in its freedom is a strong and virile nation standing for high principles. Factional groups and personal power men who strut across the stage retard its development. Development will strengthen the nation.

If this publication aids such only a small way the author will be gratified.

With the exception of three years in Washington, during a part of which some statistical work in the Bureau of Census was done, the author has spent all his life in the South, and more particularly in Middle and Western Tennessee, where he has lived since Tennessee was cut off from the Union.

The author was supervisor of the census for the Tenth Congressional District in 1910; attended the Republican Convention in 1912; was alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1916; was a Candidate for Congress for this district in 1918 and has been a delegate to and participated in Republican State Conventions in Tennessee more than ten years.

Upon the analyses and conclusions presented the author would very much appreciate criticism, whether such be favorable or unfavorable.

JOHN

Memphis, Tennessee
February 22, 1919.

Comments on Statistics and Politics

“This book is not only interesting but it is a valuable contribution to the thought of the day.”—A prominent East Tennessee Republican.*

“It furnishes food for the serious thought of all the Americans and a data not available to the average citizen.”—A San Francisco Lawyer.

“I have read it with great interest and shall read it again and often. You certainly gave to this nation a stupendous amount of work for the attention of many who will not appreciate your contribution until they have had occasion to read of it in a practical way.”—A Member of the Republican National Committee.

“It is full of information of a kind that should be generally known in Tennessee. I also find that you draw your own conclusions from the facts and that you do it in a logical manner. You are thorough in the pamphlet to keep a person reading and thinking for some time.”—A Prominent Middle Tennessee Republican.

“I have enjoyed your views on the mistakes of the Republican Party dealing with the Southern question. I am satisfied you are right in holding that the Southern negro has been a liability rather than an asset as far as the Party is concerned.”—A Middle West Republican, Prominent in Contests in the National Convention of

“In my opinion that much good would result from the information contained in ‘Statistics and Politics’ were called to the attention of the Party. I hope and believe that much good will come from the great amount of work which you have so idently given to this subject.”—A Western Member of Congress.

“I have read it with a great deal of interest and information.”—A Member of the Faculty of a Middle Western University.

“The statistical information is presented in such a practical manner as to be easily understood. Without special information on the subject, these figures could not have been so intelligently arranged and without them the information conveyed therein is practically inaccessible to the average man.”—An Ex-Mayor of Memphis.

“Your discussion of the relation of the negro in the South to Politics is the best that has been brought to my attention. It should be brought more freely before the public.”—An Oklahoma Lawyer.

“I wish to express to you my most hearty appreciation and agreement of your position in regard to the negro in the Republican Party.”—A Prominent Memphis Business Man Born in New York.

“I have been urging action looking to some definite policy on the part of the Republican Party that will meet conditions in the South; and I am very glad to know that others are working along similar lines.”—A Member of the Republican National Committee.

“Certainly it would be a great thing for the country at large and the white people of the North in particular, to read and digest the facts that you have prepared. The Republican National Committee would do well to cause a generous distribution of your booklet throughout the North.”—A New England Financier.

*For obvious reasons the names of the writers of these letters addressed to the author are withheld.

The San Francisco Chronicle

Editorial, August 24, 1919.

THE STRAIN ON THE MELTING POT

Alien Mixtures Said to be Changing the Characteristics of the American People

John W. Farley, doctor of civil law, member of the bar of Memphis, Tennessee, stalwart Republican in politics, and, apparently, opposed to negro suffrage, has written and published a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages,* representing an immense amount of hard study, which it would be well for all thoughtful Americans to obtain from Mr. Farley, read and ponder. A ruling of our Government of the people for the people and by the people makes it impossible for us to mention the price except at great pecuniary loss to ourselves. We do not dare even to say that it is more than 99 cents and less than 101 cents, and therefore, do not say it. Mr. Farley will tell you if you write to him. It is sufficient to say that it is exceedingly high if one considers only the number of printed pages and exceedingly cheap if one considers what is printed on the pages. We may say, however, that the booklet could have no value whatever except to one who has the apparatus for thinking and the habit of making use of it.

The purpose of Mr. Farley seems to be to demonstrate that the hope of the Republican party is in the solid South, for the reason that only there are to be found in preponderating numbers the elements of population which are normally in sympathy with the traditional ideals of the Republican party and who do not vote with that party, or, as a rule vote at all, because of the habit of Republican national leaders to consider only the colored vote and send to Republican national conventions packed delegations of colored men. Mr. Farley also states that the negroes who constitute the bulk of the colored population are highly respected at the South and encouraged in all ways to improve their economic conditions and that they care nothing whatever about voting and are perfectly content to let the white men run the government. That is not true of the mulattoes. The white blood in them imparts a certain enterprise which occasionally produces a Booker Washington, but more often a low class of politician. Miscegenation, according to Mr. Farley, has very nearly ceased, the mulattoes are not reproducing their own number and are tending to disappear or to be reabsorbed into the negroes.

As a political study, Mr. Farley's is of much political interest, but the figures which he has assembled from tables are of broader and profound showing how the character of our people has been changed by the infusion of alien racial characteristics wholly different from those of the original European settlers. Finding the arbitrary and often misleading of the classification he adopts for his other workable division, native white parentage as preponderatingly representing what are vaguely called "Americans" shows their distribution by groups in 1910 as follows:

Per Cent. of Total Population Native Parentage

	Native Parentage
New England States.....	40.
Middle Atlantic.....	44.
East North Central.....	54.
West North Central.....	57.
South Atlantic.....	91.
East South Central.....	94.
West South Central.....	84.
Mountain	54.
Pacific	50.

By states the two lowest in native white parents are Minnesota and North Dakota, 27.9 per cent. and 28.5 per cent., respectively, the two highest North Carolina and California, 99.0 per cent. and 97.2 per cent., respectively. Of the foreign born North Dakota leads with 36.1 per cent., followed by Minnesota with 29.1 per cent. and California has 22.6 per cent. North Dakota, however, is so largely foreign born and least comparatively homogeneous and hard-headed. The really tough native stock is in New England and in the manufacturing centers of the North Atlantic States, where there is a conglomerate of sorts of races, mostly utterly different and tendencies from anything which is American.

Considering the character of most immigration it is perhaps worth considering its effect has been on some recent years in this country.

*The first edition was 28 pages, and

"I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Statement, New Salem, Illinois, June 13, 1836

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of the negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Speech at Charleston, Illinois

September 18th, 1858

STATISTICS AND POLITICS

SHERMAN said: "War is Hell." He also said: "I believe the whole idea of giving votes to the negroes is to create just that many votes to be used by others for political uses." Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, said: "I should not at all be opposed to a proper system of restricted or limited suffrage to the negroes." With reference to negro suffrage, Lincoln said: "I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and those who serve our Cause as soldiers." These were the views on negro suffrage at the close of the Civil War of leaders whose loyalty to the Cause they represented is unquestioned.

Thaddeus Stevens, a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and other leaders insisted on negro suffrage without qualification. To the white men of the South they said: "You are worthless or worse, we will never help you nor be helped by you." Lincoln was assassinated. The intelligent whites of the South were disfranchised. The right of suffrage was given to ignorant negroes.

By human law an attempt was made to create within the negro the capacity for self government. That failed, but misguided legislation created the most artificial political condition in history. A race of people that through all the ages that had never evolved a government, in even a quasi-civilized sense, was given the right to rule. The Dragon's teeth were sown.

Reconstruction followed. The inherent genius and leadership of the Anglo-Saxon to rule was asserted and expressed itself in the Invisible Empire, known as the Ku Klux Klan, and the resourceful Anglo-Saxon soon regained control of the state governments of the South.

In 1912 and 1916, the Dragon's teeth sown fifty years ago, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and others, came up. When Woodrow Wilson, a native of Virginia, was inaugurated President in 1912, the harvest of reconstruction for the Republican party throughout the nation was begun. Champ Clark of Missouri, a native of Kentucky, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chief Justice White of Louisiana, presided over the Supreme Court.

The Anglo-American, who fifty years ago had been told "we will never help nor be helped by you," assumed direction of the National Government in the executive, legislative and judicial departments. In 1916, a majority of the people

of the several States of the Nation their approval of this administrative government of the Nation was again done by people who, less than fifty years ago, were governed by negroes, and who were not franchised—not in accordance with Lincoln, but in accordance with a system developed under the leadership of Stevens, Charles Sumner and others.

I.

USED TO CONTROL AND ANTI-REPUBLICAN PARTY ORGANIZATION

In 1867, negroes, who less than fifty years ago had been freed, cast their first vote. Fifty years have elapsed since the negro was franchised, and the race they once despised is now not only in control of the government, but also dominates the Nation. It exercises an influence over world politics.

This being true, it is pertinent to inquire what are some of the political tendencies of the Anglo-Americans; and, what is the influence of the Afro-American closed by the half century that has elapsed since the negro was, without his request, given the right to vote. What are these tendencies indicated by the latest compiled statistics?

Such an inquiry is pertinent and necessary. Woman suffrage will doubtless be given throughout the Nation.

Under an act of the Tennessee Legislature in 1901, women were given Presidential suffrage. Tennessee is the first State to enfranchise women.

The maintenance of a solid South from reconstruction was of advantage to the Democratic and Republican parties. Both were assured of a substantial majority in Congress. Those who dominated the Nation that dictated the policies of the party were assured of easily controlling the Nation that made them supreme in the National Conventions. "Just that man used by others for political uses," said, were available in the solid Democratic South to control the Republican organization. To the Democrats it was made easy to maintain solidarity by raising only the race issue, not necessary to advance or discuss other issues when victory was made appealing to prejudice and passion.

When Taft was nominated in 1908, the Republican organization had, by evolution

called a machine but was, by a Tennessean, christened a steam roller. When the National Republican Convention assembled in 1912, sixty-seven negro delegates were among the delegates from the South. A majority of these delegates constituted a nucleus of the strength of the organization that then dominated, as in the past, the organization of the Convention. These negro delegates were an asset both to the Republican organization and to the Democratic party. They were easily "used" to control the organization of the Republican Convention, and "used" to aid the Democrats in continuing the South solid.

They were used in this convention to thwart the will of a majority of the Republicans throughout the Nation. After the will of a majority of the Republicans had been defeated, and the party defeated at the polls, the National Republican Committee met and reduced the representation in future Republican Conventions. The negroes furnish no electoral votes and retard the growth of the party, but insist on "Recognition."

CAMPAIGN METHODS THAT RE-ACT

When the National Republican Convention met in 1916, there were only 25 negro delegates in the Convention, the smallest number present since they were first given full "Recognition." Hughes was nominated by acquiescence and the campaign begun. In order to give "Recognition" to the negroes, as had been done for over thirty years, special negro campaign literature was issued by the National Republican Committee.

Some of those who directed the campaign had not learned anything, nor had they forgotten anything about the negro in thirty years.

They had not learned that it is political "Recognition" that a few negroes want and that the mass of negroes are largely indifferent to voting. They had not forgotten that under Reconstruction the negro was a political factor. They had not learned that the days of Reconstruction, like the issues of the Civil War, have passed forever.

They had not learned that potential negro votes are not actual negro votes, nor had they learned that both may be liabilities to those who seek them.

They had not learned that the attitude of the Republican party toward the negro is a liability to it; and that its attitude toward the negro is a great asset to the Democratic party.

It seemed never to have occurred to them that, according to the Federal Census of 1910, more than a million white people born in the South are now living in the North, and that this number is increasing every year; that there were thousands and thousands of people in the North, born in

Europe, to whom this kind of campaign literature was offensive.

The negro must needs be given "Recognition" because he is a voter, and be given additional "Recognition" because he is a negro.

They still insist on measuring men and events in this country under the standard that existed thirty years ago. This Bourbon spirit of domination wrecked the Republican Convention in 1912, and brought the Republican party to the verge of bankruptcy. In the very hour of victory it was one of the causes that snatched control of the Federal Government from the Republican party in 1916.

POTENTIAL VOTERS AND MIGRATIONS

To secure how many votes in a presidential election are special pleadings made for the negro?

According to the Federal Census of 1910, there was a total of 22,074 negro males of voting age in the six New England states, of which 12,591 were in Massachusetts. The number of negro males of voting age in the other Northern and Western states, having more than 5,000 potential negro voters, was as follows: New York, 45,887; New Jersey, 28,601; Pennsylvania, 64,272; Ohio, 39,188; Indiana, 20,651; Illinois, 39,983; Michigan, 6,266; Iowa, 5,443; and Kansas, 17,558. There were 9,050 in Delaware and 8,143 in California. Excluding those in New England and Pennsylvania, where in the past the result has never been in doubt, there was a total of 220,770 negro males of voting age, for which a special plea was made in the states named where the results have been doubtful.

The party could not have any hope for electoral votes in the South; for, although it has perpetuated the policies of Thaddeus Stevens in the name of Lincoln, the days of reconstruction in the South, when the negro votes really decided elections, are as dead as is Thaddeus Stevens.

In conducting this part of the campaign, it never seems to have occurred to those who directed it that there are persons from the South in all the States who might be induced to vote the Republican ticket, and thereby reduce the Democratic vote, but who are, by the methods employed, kept in the Democratic party.

The Republicans do for the Democratic party, in many parts of the Nation what, if left alone, it could not do for itself. They keep alive issues that help to keep the Southern vote, whether in the South, in the North or in the West, a cohesive asset for the Democratic party.

Political strength unquestionably migrates. This is doubtless one of the contributing causes for New Hampshire casting its electoral vote for Wilson in 1916. The native white persons of

native parentage in New England constitute the basis of the Republican strength. According to the Federal Census of 1910, New Hampshire showed a decrease in its native whites of native parentage population of 5.1 per cent. It was the only State to show this and the first State in which this has happened since the Government was established.

The Federal Census designates all white persons having both parents born in the United States native whites of native parents.

In 1910, there were 138,337 white people living in Ohio, and 92,550 living in California, who were born in the South; both States cast their electoral vote for Wilson in 1916. Is it too much to say that the Southern vote that had migrated elected Wilson in 1916?

An examination of the map of the United States discloses that Tennessee is the Connective State of the Nation. Its boundaries touch the boundaries of eight States. While Missouri touches the same number, more of the boundaries of Tennessee touch more of the boundaries of more states than does any other state. It is touched by the boundaries of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Missouri. While the boundaries of South Carolina do not touch Tennessee, this state is so near it may be more properly placed in the Tennessee geographic group than Missouri.

Excepting Missouri with 76.2 per cent., and Kentucky with 91.9 per cent., according to the Census of 1910, the white population of all of these States was more than 95 per cent. native white of native parentage.

In North Carolina, 99 per cent. of the white population was of native parentage. Tennessee, with the exception of 34,780 whites foreign born and of foreign and mixed parentage in the four principal cities (18,605 of which lived in Memphis) was just as pure as North Carolina.

More than half a million white people who were born in Tennessee were living in other States in 1910. Of this number of native white Tennesseans 32,883 were living in the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, while 23,857 negroes born in Tennessee were living in these three States. There were 13,447 native whites and 984 negroes born in Tennessee living in California.

In 1910 the total number of persons born in the South, living in the North was 1,525,778, of which 1,110,245 were white and 415,533 were negroes; and the number living in the West was 403,380, of which 378,379 were white and 25,001 were negroes.

The number of negroes living in the North who were born there was 570,298; these with 415,533 born in the South and 2,159 born in the West, and 11,325, the state of birth not reported, made

a total of 999,451 negroes in the North. 26.6 per cent. of these were mulattoes.

The total number of persons born living in the South was 1,446,339, 407,262 were white and 39,077 were negroes.

There were more than twice as many living in the South born in the North as there were negroes living in the North who were born in the South, in 1910.

There were also more than twice as many whites born in the South, who had migrated to the North than there were negroes born in the South who had migrated to the North.

There were more Southern born living in the North than the total negro population living in the North in 1910.

During the last fifty years more than a million native whites have moved from the South to other parts of the country.

Unquestionably the Southern-born whites are more migratory than the negroes.

From this it will be readily seen, that the special plea for the negro vote, wherever it is a liability to the Republican party, is a liability that for every negro vote the party gets the Democratic party will than two Southern votes is just as much in the North and West as it is in the South.

EXAGGERATED IMPORTANCE

There is a general impression that the percentage of the Republican vote in the South is cast by negroes. Democrats and Republicans use this idea for their political advantage.

One of the principal features of the propaganda in Democratic newspapers during campaigns is to write about negroes at the Republican National Conventions. It is more to the Democratic Party in the South than to the Democratic Party in the North. Southern voters wherever they live live in barrels of campaign funds are waiting for either party. They are a material for the cartoonist, as well as a copy for highly colored and exaggerated statements that will solidify the Southern white man's feeling of all political or economic questions as being the general welfare of the Nation.

The negroes who want "Recognition" on it. Booker Washington said: "A Southern white man and a Southern white man understands a negro better than two people in the world." The Southern man will let the negro work him for everything except politics, and the Southern white man will not let a negro work him for anything except politics. And the negro will let the Republican party to a fare-you-

power of exaggeration stands the negro in stead and he knows the advantages of a agent. As the National Campaigns approach copy writers get busy for their leading s. When the articles are in type, marked are sent to those whom they desire to im- and from whom they expect to receive gnition" as well as shekels. political activity is looked on with pleasure ot infrequently he is aided in his endeavors mocrats, because they know it aids the atic Party to keep the Southern born in line wherever they live.

II.

NEGRO POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN TENNESSEE

following quotations from leading negro apers at the beginning of the Campaign in on the situation in Tennessee are typical:

Washington, D. C., Eagle, on February 26, stated:

here are about 125,000 negro voters in Tene- see, and it goes without saying that 99.5 per of them are Republicans. In 1914, Rye, Demo- received 136,816 votes for Governor and er, Republican, received 115,821 votes. From figures it doesn't take exactly a Solomon to r judge about the size of the Republican white "

Louisville, Ky., News on March 4, 1916,

he negro vote comprises about 85 per cent. of epublicans in Tennessee."

Nashville, Tenn., Globe, on February 25, stated:

What fate awaits the Republican Party without negro? What would be the status in Tennes- without the aid of the black man? The answer t far to seek; excepting East Tennessee, they l muster scarcely five thousand votes."

FACTS AND FIGURES

analysis of the vote of Tennessee has been for the years 1908, 1912 and 1916, with the of ascertaining "What fate awaits the Re- an Party without the negro?" "What be the status in Tennessee without the aid black man?"—to the Democratic or "aid" Republican Party.

statistics used in this analysis are based on ficial vote in Tennessee, and on the report by the United States Census Bureau for nus of 1910.

vote in Tennessee is here analyzed and risions made because it is the central State South and it presents a typical Anglo- can group of Southern people living under r conditions as in other States.

le this analysis is somewhat in detail, the e are enlightening because what is true in ee is true in other States of the South.

Before examining these statistics relative to those of voting age, it is well to state that the qualifications for voting in Tennessee are not stringent. No property qualification is required. All male citizens of the United States, who have been residents of Tennessee for one year and of the county for six months; have paid a two dollar poll tax 30 days before and have registered 20 days before the date of election, are eligible to vote.

In many rural precincts registration is not required, and there a small "open" ballot is used. In the larger communities, the Australian ballot is used. The names of all candidates appear on the ballot. The candidates are voted for by the voter making a cross mark on the ballot after the names of the candidates that are his choice.

Presidential and municipal suffrage was conferred on women by act of the Tennessee legislature in 1919. The State constitution limits suffrage for state officers to males.

In 1910, the total population of Tennessee was 2,184,789, of which 1,711,432 were white, 473,088 negroes and 269 Indians, Japanese and Chinese. Of the negroes 354,391 were black and 118,697 mulattoes.

There were 552,668 males of voting age in Tennessee in 1910, of which 433,526 were white and 119,142 negroes. The term "potential" voters is used to designate males of voting age. There are 96 counties in Tennessee.

The residence of these potential voters was as follows:

In the 51 counties composing the first, second, third and fourth Congressional districts, which comprise East Tennessee, there was a total of 234,462 potential voters, of which 208,616 were whites and 25,846 were negroes. The Fourth District lies partly in Middle Tennessee, but as only 10.5 per cent. of the population were negroes it is here included with East Tennessee.

In the 23 counties composing the fifth, sixth and seventh Congressional districts, which comprise Middle Tennessee, there was a total of 144,998 potential voters, of which 109,795 were whites and 35,203 were negroes.

In the 22 counties composing the eighth, ninth and tenth Congressional districts, which comprise West Tennessee, there was a total of 173,208 potential voters, of which 115,115 were whites and 58,093 were negroes.

Of the 25,846 negroes of voting age who lived in East Tennessee, 7,812 lived in Hamilton County of which Chattanooga is the county seat.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the negroes of voting age lived in the 45 counties that comprise the six Congressional districts in Middle and West Tennessee.

In these six Congressional districts there are nine counties, viz.: Davidson, in the 6th; Madison, in the 8th; Lake, Lauderdale and Haywood in the 9th; and Fayette, Hardeman, Tipton and Shelby in the 10th district, in which resided 144,039 males of voting age, of which 83,986 were white and 60,053 were negroes. That is, 60,053 of the 119,142 negroes of voting age in the State, a little more than 50 per cent. of all the potential negro votes in the State in 1910, resided in these nine counties.

One-fourth of the total population of the state resided in these nine counties. The population of these nine counties and the number of potential voters therein was practically the same as for the three Congressional districts that comprise Middle Tennessee.

Nashville and Memphis are the respective county seats of Davidson and Shelby counties. In these nine counties the average Republican vote (the Progressive vote being included with the Republican for 1912) for President in the three elections in 1908, 1912 and 1916 was only 10,138. In Middle Tennessee the average Republican Presidential vote was 23,000. In each of these nine counties over 36 per cent. of those of voting age were negroes, except Davidson, and it had 30.4 per cent. negroes.

In these nine counties, viz., Davidson, Madison, Lake, Lauderdale, Haywood, Fayette, Hardeman, Tipton and Shelby, there resided 60,053 of the 119,142 negro males of voting age in the state—more than 50 per cent. of the total potential negro votes in the state; and, although there were also 83,986 whites of voting age in these nine counties, the total potential vote being 144,039, the Republican vote for President in 1908, 1912 and 1916 was only about 10,000 in each year.

In 1910, the potential vote in Tipton County, one of the counties in the tenth Congressional District in Tennessee, was 7,061 of which 3,992 were whites and 3,069 negroes—43.5 per cent. negroes. For many years prior to 1916 the Republican leadership in this county was white. In 1916, the leadership passed entirely to negroes. In this county in 1908 the Republican vote for President was 1,041; in 1912 the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt was 733; while under exclusive negro leadership in 1916 the vote for Hughes was only 299. Covington, the county seat of Tipton county, is 30 miles from Memphis.

There are only fifteen counties in the State that had more than 2,000 negroes of voting age. These fifteen counties (with county seats shown) include the nine above named, except Lake, and also include the following counties, viz.: Knox, (Knoxville), Hamilton (Chattanooga), Rutherford (Murfreesboro), Montgomery (Clarksville),

Giles (Pulaski), Maury (Columbia), (Trenton).

These fifteen counties had 84,436 negroes of voting age, and 152,646 whites of voting age. The 84,436 negroes of voting age in these fifteen counties constituted 70.8 per cent. of the total number of negroes of voting age in the State.

There were only 25 counties in the State that had more than 1,000 negroes of voting age. In these 25 counties there resided 98,090 negroes of voting age, and 203,980 whites of voting age. This is 82.3 per cent. of the total potential negro votes in the State.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there were 25 counties in the State that had more than 1,000 potential negro voters; of these 25 counties more than 2,000 potential negro voters resided in 19 counties.

It will also be observed that in 1910 there resided 60,053 of the negroes of voting age in the State—over 50 per cent.—in the State counties in which the percentage of those of voting age residing in the county was 50 per cent. or more. In 19 counties and 82.3 per cent. resided in the State counties.

The Republicans did not carry 19 counties in East Tennessee and 19 counties in Middle Tennessee—of the 25 counties in which the percentage of those of voting age residing in the county was 50 per cent. or more, although there were 203,980 whites of voting age in these counties. Three of these counties are in East Tennessee, eight in Middle Tennessee and twelve in West Tennessee.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS FROM A PROPER PERSPECTIVE

An analysis of the vote in the six Congressional Districts comprising Middle and West Tennessee shows that in practically every county the percentage of negroes in the population is larger than the percentage of the vote cast for the Republican, and the larger the percentage in any county, the larger the percentage of the vote cast was Republican. These figures are based on the actual vote of election the normal vote of the county, and there was very little activity. There was more negro activity in 1916 than in twenty years previous to that year.

In the Fifth Congressional District (Murfreesboro) County had the largest percentage of potential negro voters, 31.5 per cent. of potential negro voters, and gave the largest per cent. of its vote to the Democrats, while the First District, having the smallest per cent. of potential negro voters, gave a Republican majority.

**Potential Voters in Tennessee by Counties and Congressional Districts: Census 1910, and Presidential
Vote 1908, 1912 and 1916.**

COUNTIES	Total No. of Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total White Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total Negro Males of Voting Age in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males	Taft, 1908	Taft and Roosevelt Combined, 1912	Hughes, 1916	Bryan, 1908	Wilson, 1912	Wilson, 1916
FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 241,853										
Carter	4,438	4,285	153	3.4	3,152	3,169	2,961	454	478	498
Claiborne	5,393	5,161	232	4.3	1,637	1,687	1,398	971	903	1,053
Cocke	4,267	4,034	233	5.5	1,749	1,306	1,504	688	597	595
Grainger	3,284	3,181	103	3.1	1,309	1,641	1,329	673	841	843
Greene	7,286	6,936	350	4.8	2,027	2,892	3,059	1,886	2,076	2,255
Hancock	2,272	2,181	91	4.0	1,396	1,495	1,229	370	427	397
Hawkins	5,389	4,939	450	8.4	1,693	1,488	1,755	1,152	1,026	1,147
Johnson	2,823	2,745	78	2.8	2,148	1,958	1,802	232	256	263
Sevier	4,634	4,550	84	1.8	3,130	3,377	2,859	291	341	302
Sullivan	6,815	6,414	401	5.9	1,836	1,803	1,770	2,393	2,413	2,602
Unicoi	1,679	1,620	59	3.5	860	1,045	961	67	170	226
Washington	8,644	8,012	632	7.3	2,254	2,726	2,744	1,574	1,531	1,831
	56,924	54,058	2,866	5.0	23,191	24,577	23,391	10,751	11,059	12,002
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 252,338										
Anderson	4,100	3,831	269	6.6	2,022	1,687	1,733	632	597	540
Blount	4,877	4,580	297	6.1	2,568	2,280	2,462	847	836	1,017
Campbell	6,514	5,873	641	9.8	1,806	1,495	1,691	530	551	485
Hamblen	3,414	3,047	367	10.7	991	752	795	795	722	741
Jefferson	4,210	3,828	382	9.1	1,962	1,480	1,689	662	514	520
*Knox	24,801	21,242	3,559	14.4	5,817	5,800	5,836	4,090	4,069	4,214
Loudon	3,189	2,967	222	7.0	986	670	710	444	415	424
Roane	5,400	4,788	612	11.3	1,524	1,308	1,395	595	570	669
Scott	2,789	2,727	62	2.2	1,932	1,357	1,486	190	160	206
Union	2,547	2,542	5	0.2	1,684	1,499	1,490	496	404	389
	61,841	55,425	6,416	9.4	21,292	18,328	19,287	9,281	8,838	9,205
THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 265,724										
Bledsoe	1,517	1,427	90	5.9	425	780	681	295	464	423
Bradley	3,845	3,457	388	10.1	1,063	1,033	1,482	620	645	795
Franklin	4,990	4,251	739	14.8	716	534	711	2,168	2,092	2,469
Grundy	1,830	1,791	39	2.1	261	209	319	576	529	736
*Hamilton	25,381	17,569	7,812	30.8	4,250	3,933	4,709	4,564	4,386	5,840
James	1,282	1,145	137	10.7	608	577	606	217	202	230
Marion	4,785	4,078	707	14.8	1,074	895	1,432	842	809	1,165
McMinn	4,900	4,461	439	9.0	1,320	1,182	1,526	926	907	1,090
Meigs	1,383	1,274	109	7.9	457	500	608	464	517	541
Monroe	4,873	4,627	246	5.0	1,827	1,196	1,470	1,406	1,136	1,263
Polk	3,584	3,497	87	2.4	1,175	1,155	892	747	867	767
Sequatchie	974	932	42	4.3	249	222	238	394	354	335
Van Buren	642	630	12	1.9	176	136	151	329	225	405
Warren	4,181	3,717	464	11.1	729	589	632	1,573	1,745	1,857
White	3,629	3,400	229	6.3	835	609	590	1,572	1,222	1,407
	67,796	56,256	11,540	17.0	15,165	13,550	16,047	16,693	16,100	19,323
FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 198,646										
Clay	2,021	1,957	64	3.2	634	523	578	764	718	689
Cumberland	2,187	2,174	13	0.6	1,010	806	924	479	489	429
Fentress	1,667	1,632	35	2.1	894	761	925	332	399	348
Jackson	3,282	3,217	65	2.0	966	994	740	1,404	1,344	1,506
Macon	3,456	3,295	161	4.7	1,594	1,434	1,600	684	787	980
Morgan	3,151	2,636	515	16.3	1,235	1,153	1,265	496	466	563
Overton	3,654	3,575	79	2.2	1,008	924	1,030	1,401	1,531	1,512
Pickett	1,146	1,143	3	0.3	517	489	501	391	411	418
Putnam	4,535	4,332	203	4.5	1,419	1,308	1,383	1,632	1,867	2,307
Rhea	3,616	3,285	331	9.2	995	805	768	883	692	661
Smith	4,468	3,968	500	11.2	1,056	1,099	941	1,638	1,863	2,196
Sumner	6,581	5,369	1,212	18.4	673	858	612	2,343	2,477	2,488
Trousdale	1,451	1,070	381	26.3	198	746	217	476	544	688
Wilson	6,686	5,224	1,462	21.9	902	974	841	2,212	2,325	2,535
	47,901	42,877	5,024	10.5	13,102	12,374	12,323	15,135	15,913	17,200

* One of 15 counties having more than 2,000 negro males of voting age—70.8 of all the negroes in Tennessee lived in these 15 counties in 1910.

Potential Voters in Tennessee by Counties and Congressional Districts: Census 1910 and Vote 1908, 1912 and 1916.

COUNTIES	Total No. of Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total White Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total Negro Males of Voting Age in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males	Taft, 1908	Taft and Roosevelt Combined, 1912	Hughes, 1916	Bryan, 1908
FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 145,330								
Bedford	5,813	4,503	1,310	22.5	1,446	1,570	1,327	1,996
Cannon	2,634	2,490	144	5.5	672	679	456	904
Coffee	3,887	3,528	359	9.2	656	584	494	1,654
Dekalb	3,642	3,448	194	5.3	1,464	1,484	1,343	1,284
Lincoln	6,293	5,103	1,190	18.9	692	770	552	2,311
Marshall	4,422	3,686	736	16.6	440	463	462	1,544
Moore	1,209	1,125	84	6.9	103	127	72	677
*Rutherford	8,084	5,536	2,548	31.5	1,226	1,497	1,116	2,764
	35,984	29,419	6,565	18.3	6,699	7,174	5,822	13,134
SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 234,016								
Cheatham	2,604	2,253	351	13.5	526	440	439	1,206
*Davidson	41,707	29,041	12,666	30.4	2,721	2,758	3,168	8,309
*Montgomery	8,211	5,144	3,067	37.4	1,903	713	1,015	2,961
Robertson	6,645	5,047	1,598	24.0	155	655	733	2,418
Stewart	3,448	3,058	390	11.3	715	539	591	1,475
	62,615	44,543	18,072	28.9	6,620	5,105	5,946	16,369
SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 189,576								
Dickson	4,702	4,015	687	14.6	899	738	1,008	1,499
*Giles	7,837	5,524	2,313	29.5	1,571	2,015	1,488	3,051
Hickman	3,842	3,291	551	14.3	1,285	980	1,026	1,065
Houston	1,545	1,335	210	13.6	665	237	207	288
Humphreys	3,299	3,027	272	8.2	679	532	452	1,301
Lawrence	4,219	3,993	226	5.4	1,725	1,660	1,837	1,591
Lewis	1,481	1,213	268	18.1	354	270	414	465
*Maury	10,703	6,616	4,087	38.2	620	1,004	720	2,324
Wayne	2,804	2,599	205	7.3	1,411	1,361	1,626	451
Williamson	5,967	4,220	1,747	29.3	605	858	608	1,928
	46,399	35,833	10,566	22.8	9,814	9,655	9,385	13,963
EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 180,119								
Benton	2,967	2,887	80	2.7	860	941	806	1,221
Carroll	5,929	4,815	1,114	18.8	2,290	2,329	2,222	1,802
Chester	2,148	1,821	327	15.2	577	696	646	703
Decatur	2,343	2,112	231	9.9	958	896	893	845
Hardin	4,094	3,619	475	11.9	1,132	1,547	1,811	720
Henderson	4,074	3,657	417	10.2	1,148	1,420	1,387	900
Henry	6,381	5,030	1,351	21.2	1,069	1,223	1,393	2,369
McNairy	3,863	3,542	321	8.3	1,300	1,617	1,616	1,057
*Madison	10,024	6,371	3,653	36.4	1,357	1,480	1,194	2,409
Perry	2,058	1,918	140	6.8	678	473	483	756
	43,881	35,772	8,109	18.5	11,369	12,622	12,450	12,782
NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 203,021								
Crockett	3,802	3,025	777	20.4	1,205	1,361	1,144	1,226
Dyer	6,912	5,534	1,378	19.9	672	666	459	1,786
*Gibson	10,385	8,216	2,169	20.9	1,369	1,520	1,462	3,173
*Haywood	5,839	2,113	3,726	63.8	189	122	61	1,215
Lake	2,359	1,387	972	41.2	178	153	130	464
*Lauderdale	5,092	2,905	2,187	42.9	519	779	532	1,315
Obion	7,781	6,489	1,292	16.6	711	648	598	2,258
Weakley	8,139	7,305	834	10.2	1,812	1,615	1,785	2,976
	50,309	36,974	13,335	20.7	6,655	6,964	6,171	14,413
TENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 274,166								
*Fayette	6,495	1,992	4,503	69.3	4	152	117	1,849
*Hardeman	5,367	3,254	2,113	39.4	553	584	490	1,568
*Shelby	60,095	33,131	26,964	44.9	3,069	3,540	4,515	7,411
*Tipton	7,061	3,992	3,069	43.5	1,041	733	299	1,662
	79,018	42,309	36,649	46.4	4,667	5,009	5,421	12,490
TOTALS FOR STATE: POPULATION 2,184,789	552,663	433,526	119,142	21.6	118,574	115,268	116,223	135,011
TOTALS 15 COUNTIES HAVING MORE THAN 2,000 NEGRO MALES OF VOTING AGE IN 1910.	237,082	152,646	84,436	31.8	26,209	26,630	26,722	48,865

* One of 15 counties having more than 2,000 negro males of voting age.

Potential Voters in Tennessee by Counties and C-

V-

STATISTICS AND POLITICS

COUNTIES

Carter
Claiborne
Cocke
Grainger
Greene
Hancock
Hawkins
Johns
Sevier
Sullivan
Union
Washington

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Madison
negroes,
Democrats, while
the smallest per-
centage of negroes majori-
tarian. Deatur and Car-
roll having less than 15
per cent. negroes, except
Carroll only 18.8 per cent.
It is well known
that in Carroll County is

in the Tenth Congressional District, Haywood
gave 82.5 per cent. negroes, while Crockett, an
only 20.4 per cent. negroes,
percentage of negroes except
gave 49.6 per cent. of its vote

in the Tenth Congressional District, Fayette
gave 81 per cent. of its potential voters
to Democrats, while Benton County, having the smallest
percentage of its vote to Republicans; and Shel-
by (Memphis) with 44.9 per cent. of its
potential voters negroes, gave 70.6 per cent. of
its vote to Democrats.

NEGROES AID DEMOCRATS

In recent years the only times the Republicans
have won in Tennessee were when the negroes
have kept away from the polls.

**IT SHOULD ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED
THAT OFFICERS ARE ELECTED BY MAJOR-
ITIES AND PLURALITIES OF VOTES, AND
NOT VOTES ALONE.**

In the nine counties heretofore named, in which
over 50 per cent. of all the negroes in the State
lived in 1910, the total number of males of voting
age was 144,049 of which 83,986 were white and
60,053 negroes.

The total vote for President in these nine
counties was as follows:

In 1908	Bryan	26,202
	Taft	9,631
In 1912	Wilson	24,579
	Taft and Roosevelt combined	10,301
In 1916	Wilson	32,145
	Hughes	10,506

Four of these nine counties comprise the Tenth
Congressional District, and in 1910 the total num-
ber of males of voting age was 79,018 of which
42,369 were whites and 36,649 negroes. In this
district there resided 30.7 per cent. of the total
negro males of voting age in the State.

Shelby County, one of the counties in the
Tenth District, had 60,095 potential voters of
which 43,131 were white and 26,964 negroes.
There were 10,612 registered negro voters in 1916.
There was more negro political activity in the
Tenth District in 1916 than there had been for
over twenty years. The Democratic majority in
1916 reflects it.

In the Tenth District the Presidential vote was
as follows:

In 1908	Bryan	12,490
	Taft	4,667
In 1912	Wilson	9,871
	Taft and Roosevelt combined	5,009
In 1916	Wilson	16,544
	Hughes	5,421

In the fifteen counties in Tennessee having a
negro male voting population of over 2,000, and
in which 70 per cent., 84,436 of the 119,142 ne-
groes of voting age in the State lived, the Demo-
cratic majorities were as follows:

In 1908	22,456
In 1912	19,010
In 1916	28,569

Negro political activity causes more Democrats
to go to the polls and vote; causes independents
to vote for Democratic nominees instead of Re-
publican nominees; and, it also causes many
whites who are Republicans from principle to
forego their privilege of voting. These state-
ments are true, even though those who conduct
Republican campaigns positively decline and re-
fuse to believe them. It produces desirable con-
ditions for the Democratic party.

The proportion that the negro forms of the
total population has decreased in practically
every Southern State. In 1900 the negroes were

32.3 per cent. of the total population of the South, by 1910 their proportionate percentage had decreased to 29.8 per cent.

In Tennessee the proportion decreased from 23 per cent. in 1900 to 21.7 per cent. in 1910. Tennessee is one of the three Southern States that showed an actual decrease in the negro population according to the Federal Census of 1910—the negro population decreased from 480,243 in 1900 to 473,088 in 1910—an actual decrease of 1.5 per cent. in the decade.

Two other Southern States showed a decrease—Maryland 1.2 per cent. and Kentucky 8.1 per cent.—during the period from 1900 to 1910. Kentucky showed a decrease from 1890 to 1900. These States, with Missouri, which also showed a decrease in the total negro population from 1900 to 1910, have each had Republican Governors in the last twenty years.

From the foregoing it is possible to arrive at a pretty clear idea of the political influence of the negro in Tennessee. However, a further analysis of the vote in Tennessee is a still further confirmation of the fact that the "Recognition" accorded the negro by the Republican party in Tennessee is "aid" rendered to the Democratic party.

The Democratic party does not accord "Recognition," but gets the benefits of negro political activity.

NEGRO A REPUBLICAN LIABILITY IN TENNESSEE

In the quotations from negro papers heretofore referred to, it was stated that "excepting East Tennessee, they (Republicans) could muster scarcely five thousand votes;" that "The negro vote comprises about 85 per cent. of the Republicans in Tennessee;" and, that

"There are about 125,000 negro voters in Tennessee, and it goes without saying that 99.5 per cent. of them are Republicans. In 1914, Rye, Democrat, received 136,816 votes for Governor and Hooper, Republican, received 115,821 votes. From these figures it doesn't take exactly a Solomon to tell or judge about the size of the Republican white vote."

The correct vote was Rye 137,656, Hooper 116,677. Rye's majority over Hooper was 20,979.

There were 119,142 negro males of voting age in Tennessee in 1910, of which 60,053 lived in nine counties. There were also 83,986 whites of voting age in these nine counties. In 1914, Rye received 34,543 votes and Hooper 11,821 in these nine counties, a majority of 23,422; that is, 2,443 more than his majority in the state.

There are 15 counties in the state in which resided, in each county, more than 2,000 negroes

of voting age in 1910. Two of the were in East Tennessee, five in Middle Tennessee and eight in West Tennessee. In ties there were 237,082 males of voting age, of which 152,646 were white and 84,436 were negroes. This was 70.8 per cent. of all males of voting age living in the State.

In these 15 counties having more negroes of voting age in 1910, in which 84,436 of the 119,142—70.8 per cent.—potential negro voters in the state, Rye received 54,610 votes and Hooper 29,932. Rye's majority over Hooper in these counties was 24,678, which was 3,689 more than Rye's majority in the state. Hooper did not carry but 2 of these counties—Knox in East Tennessee and Giles in Tennessee.

In the 25 counties in the state in which resided, in each county, more than 1,000 males of voting age—82.3 per cent. in the state, Rye's majority over Hooper was 30,718, which was 9,148 more than his total majority in the state. Of these 25 counties Hooper carried 4—Knox in East Tennessee, Bedford in Middle Tennessee and Carroll in West Tennessee. In these 25 counties Rye received 44,284 votes and Hooper 44,284 votes. The 25 counties in which 82.3 per cent. of the negroes in the state lived, Rye received 82.3 per cent. of his total vote in the state and Hooper received only 38 per cent. of his total vote in the state.

The total number of males of voting age in the ninth and tenth Congressional districts was 129,327 of which 79,343 were white and 49,984 were negroes—42 per cent. of the males of voting age in the state. The number of males of voting age in the eighth Congressional district was 109,772 of which 35,772 were whites and 74,000 were negroes. These three districts comprise West Tennessee.

The vote in the ninth and tenth districts combined was, Rye 21,112, Hooper 12,321. Rye's majority in these two districts was 8,791, which was 1,471 more votes than his majority in the state. Hooper received in the eighth district 8,109 votes, in which only 8,109 negroes lived. In the ninth and tenth districts of which 49,984 negroes lived, only 12,321 votes were received, only 1,471 less than he received in the eighth district.

In the August election in 1914, a fight by the retreating liquor forces in Tennessee to control the sheriff's office in Davidson County by counties of which Nashville and Murfreesboro are the county seats. There were no Republican candidates for any county or city office in these counties or cities. Nor have there been any Republican candidates for county offices in these counties and cities for ten years.

Up to this time there had been little or no negro political activity in Tennessee for about twenty years. Under the banner of "Regular Democrats" there were registered about 12,000 negroes in Shelby county alone. The "Regular Democrats" were successful at this election. And, with renewed vigor the Democrats made the "home rule" principle of government more autocratic and rotten, and the city and county governments of these cities and counties ranked among the rankest in the nation.

At the gubernatorial election in the following November all of these negroes were qualified to vote. Many of them did. Rye's vote in Davidson and Shelby counties shows it. The vote in Davidson county was Rye 9,019, Hooper 5,324; in Shelby county, Rye 16,263, Hooper 1,985. Rye's majority over Hooper in these two counties was 17,973, only 3,006 less than his total majority in the State.

After Rye became governor the stench in these "Banner Democratic Counties"—largely made Democratic by "the aid of the black man"—became so strong that even Democrats could not stand the Benevolent Despotism. There was then enacted ouster legislation and impeachment proceedings by the state legislature, with the cooperation of Republican legislators, who were fortunate in being denied the "aid" of negroes when they were candidates, that resulted for the time being in removing from office some of these "simon pure" Democrats. This legislation enacted was only a continuation of the policies of former Governor Hooper.

Following the Saturnalia under the tutelage of the Democrats in 1914, in 1916 the negroes under negro leadership, and ostensibly for Republican nominees, were more active in politics in Tennessee than at any time during the present generation. The vote for President was, Wilson 153,282, Hughes 116,223.

There were 10,612 registered negro voters in Shelby county. Their activity was played up daily by Democratic newspapers. The total number of males over 21 years of age in the two counties of Shelby and Davidson in 1910 was 101,802 of which 62,272 were whites and 39,620 were negro—33.3 per cent. of the potential negro voters in the state.

The total vote in these two counties was as follows:

In 1916	Hughes	7,683
	Wilson	19,925
In 1912	Taft and Roosevelt combined.....	6,299
	Wilson	16,249
In 1908	Taft	5,790
	Bryan	15,720

From this it will be observed that the Democratic majority for President in 1916 in these two counties was 12,242; that the Democratic majority was larger than in any of the years shown. Negro political activity increases Democratic majorities.

There was no negro political activity in 1912 in Tennessee, and newspapers made special comment in connection with the election returns that few if any negroes voted that year. The figures showing the returns for that year are more eloquent than words.

In the Republican Convention that nominated Ben W. Hooper for Governor of Tennessee in 1910, there were only two negro delegates. They were seated as a part of a contesting county delegation and had only half a vote each. After Hooper was nominated Gov. M. R. Patterson, the Democratic nominee, realized Hooper would be elected and withdrew from the race. Ex-Governor, then Senator Robt. L. Taylor succeeded Patterson as the Democratic candidate and Hooper defeated him. The vote was, Hooper 133,074, Taylor 121,694.

In 1912, when the political storm rent the Republican party in twain, Hooper defeated another Democratic war horse, Ex-Governor Benton McMillan. The vote was, Hooper 124,641, McMillan 116,610. The vote in 1912 for President was, Wilson 135,425, Taft and Roosevelt combined 113,422, of which Taft received 59,381 and Roosevelt 54,041. Roosevelt came into Tennessee and at the solicitation of Hooper's enemies made speeches against Hooper.

Ben W. Hooper, a Republican, was twice elected governor of Tennessee by as pure Anglo-Saxon voters in West Tennessee and Middle Tennessee as well as East Tennessee, as any man was ever elected to any office at any time since this Republic was established. He was defeated for governor the third time he was a candidate by Thomas C. Rye through the "aid" of the negroes to the Democratic party.

The Nashville (negro) Globe, said, "excepting East Tennessee they (Republicans) could muster scarcely five thousand votes."

The total average vote received by the Republicans in the first, second, third and fourth Congressional districts in Tennessee for President in 1908, 1912 and 1916 (the Progressive vote being counted Republican in all these statements), was 71,000. While the fourth district is partly in Middle Tennessee it is here included with the East Tennessee districts. In the fourth district in which there were only 5,024 potential negro voters Hooper received 13,930 votes. There were 25,846 potential negro voters in these four districts in 1910.

The total average Republican vote in the three Congressional districts, here designated as Middle Tennessee, for President, was 23,000; and, in the three districts comprising West Tennessee was 24,000.

In 1910 there were 35,203 potential negro voters in Middle Tennessee of which 18,072 lived in the sixth district and 17,131 lived in the fifth and seventh districts combined.

The average Republican vote for President in the sixth district in the years 1908, 1912 and 1916 was 5,882 and in the fifth and seventh districts combined was 16,177. The potential white voters in these three districts were 109,795.

In 1910 in West Tennessee there were 58,093 negroes of voting age of which 8,109 lived in the eighth Congressional district and 49,984 in the ninth and tenth districts combined.

There were also 173,208 potential white voters in these three districts.

The average Republican vote for President in the eighth district in the three years mentioned was 12,122 while in the ninth and tenth districts combined it was only 11,606.

The average Republican vote in the seventh and eighth districts combined was 21,782 while the combined vote in the sixth, ninth and tenth districts was only 17,488—4,295 less than the vote in the seventh and eighth districts combined.

The sixth, ninth and tenth districts had 68,056 negro and 117,289 white potential voters while the seventh and eighth districts had only 18,675 negro and 71,605 white potential voters.

So that the Republicans received "Excepting East Tennessee" over 40,000 more than "scarcely five thousand votes;" and, they were white votes; negro and Democratic newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

It might "take exactly a Solomon to tell or judge about the" exact "size of the Republican white vote in Tennessee" or the negro Democratic vote in Tennessee; but an Ananias does not have to make a statement, and it to be characterized by a word that is spelled with fewer letters than is the word false for it to be untrue.

There was a smaller percentage of the total vote cast in the Congressional districts in which there was a large per cent. of the total potential voters negroes than in those where there was a small percentage negroes. The average per cent. of the total vote cast in the state of the total potential vote in the state was 46.5. In the eighth district the percentage of the total vote cast, of the total potential vote was 58.1. The eighth had the smallest per cent. of negroes of any district in West Tennessee; while in the tenth district that had the largest per cent. of negroes the vote cast was only 22.8 per cent. of the total potential vote.

In the nine counties in which the negroes lived, the total per cent. negro, only the total potential vote was cast in which only 10.5 of was negro 62.3 per cent. of vote was cast. This is equal potential white voters be cast vote in the state.

An analysis shows that in Tennessee negro voters cause the white voting. Undoubtedly more white in the principles of the Republic exercise their right of suffrage where there is a large percentage of the counties than there are refrain from voting.

III.

WHITES IN RURAL DISTRICTS ARE DELUDED IN NEGROES "RECOGNITION TIONS. THIS "RECOGNITION CAUSES EFFORTS OF THEM TO MAKE TENNESSEE REPUBLICAN DEFEATED.

In 1910 the total population of Shelby counties was 340,917.

In these two counties there were 101,802 whites, and 39,620 were negroes.

In these two counties residing the total potential negro voter was 101,802.

In these two counties the total population in 1916, was only 7,683, that is 7,683 whites and 39,620 negroes in the Republicans got only 183 minimum number of votes (7,683 congressional district to have a Republican National Convention

In these two counties are Memphis and Nashville, two of the seven largest cities in Tennessee having a population in 1910 of 101,802. These cities are the principal political activity in Tennessee

In 1910 the 101,802 potential white voters in Shelby counties was 33.3 per cent. of the total potential vote in the state

The 39,620 potential negro voters in these two counties was 33.3 per cent. of the total potential vote in the State.

The total vote for Hugh R. White in 1916 was 116,223. Of this 7,683 votes in these two counties was only 7.7 per cent. of his total vote in Tennessee was only 7.7 per cent. of the total vote in Davidson and Shelby counties

In 1916, the sixth Congressional district (Nashville) was entitled to two delegates to the

Convention. One white delegate and one negro delegate, one white alternate and one negro alternate was sent.

There was also one delegate-at-large from Tennessee.

In 1910 there were 62,615 males of voting age in the sixth district, of which 44,543 were white and 18,072 were negroes.

Mr. Hughes made two speeches in Nashville during the Presidential campaign in 1916; one to an exclusive negro audience of several thousand, and one to an audience of over six thousand that was nearly all white.

Notwithstanding all of this "Recognition" to the negro race, out of 18,072 negroes and 44,543 whites the Presidential vote in this district in 1916 was less than 7,500. The number of delegates in the convention to the National Republican Convention in 1920 from this district was therefore reduced, under the rules, from two to one.

The basis of congressional representation for the 1910 census is 211,877. Davidson and Shelby counties with a total population of 340,917 had 129,040 more population than that fixed for one congressional district—nearly two-thirds of the apportionment for an additional congressional district. Yet, if these two counties had been in the same congressional district and the number of votes polled for President in 1916, had been only 184 less than the total vote polled in these two counties they would have been entitled to only one delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Because of the small vote cast for Republican candidates in four congressional districts in Tennessee there are four districts in Tennessee entitled to only one delegate to the National Convention in 1920. These districts are the fifth, sixth, ninth and tenth congressional districts.

In 1910 the sixth, ninth and tenth districts had a total potential vote of 185,345 of which 117,287 were white and 68,056 were negroes. Out of this potential vote of 185,345 the Republican candidate for president in 1916 received a total vote in these three districts of only 17,942. There was more negro political activity in Tennessee in 1916 than there had been in 20 years.

These are eloquent facts and figures. The people of the congressional district in Tennessee in which is located the capital of the state are disfranchised in part, as are other districts in Tennessee; and, in other states of the South because of negro political activity.

In 1910 the second Congressional district in Tennessee had 61,841 males of voting age, of which only 6,416 were negroes. Of these negroes 3,552 lived in Knox County, and of those in Knox

County 2,297 lived in the city of Knoxville. Only 14 per cent. of the potential vote in Knox County was negro while 21.7 per cent. of the potential vote in Knoxville was negro. Knox County as a whole is normally Republican, however, the city of Knoxville elected a Republican Mayor in 1919 for the first time in about 25 years.

If the aggregate Republican vote of the 10 Congressional Districts in Tennessee should be used in apportioning representation in the Republican National Convention, and the rule should be that there should be an average of not less than 7,500 votes for each District in the State, then as the total Republican vote for President in Tennessee is more than 115,000, Tennessee would have 50,000 more votes than would be required for the State to have 2 delegates for the total number of Congressional districts in the State. Tennessee is cut down 4 delegates because under the rule of the National Committee 4 Congressional districts polled less than 7,500 votes.

In these districts a large percentage of the population is negro. In these districts outsiders interfere, not because of Republican votes cast in these districts but because some of the population of these districts are negroes. The Republican party in Tennessee is done a grievous wrong by these outsiders. No person or set of persons should be permitted to sacrifice the Republican party, and its success, in Tennessee.

It does not alone concern the people of the four congressional districts that have had their representation cut in half, but it concerns all the people of Tennessee, regardless of party, for the voting strength of Tennessee to be cut down one-sixth in the Republican National Convention.

It does not matter what sort of theory may be advanced about government, the facts are, the more the negro is appealed to for votes in the South by the Republican Party the smaller the Republican vote and the larger the Democratic majority.

Republicans in Tennessee, or Republicans outside of Tennessee, who in any way aid in maintaining the past policy of the party in regard to the negro in Tennessee, for whatever reason, are enemies of the great mass of Republican voters in Tennessee. The success of the whole Republican Party in Tennessee should not be sacrificed by any such policy.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE MUCH FOR THE NEGRO RACE; BUT, THE NEGROES HAVE NEVER DONE ANYTHING FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE EXCEPT PREVENT ITS SUCCESS.

IV.

NEW ENGLAND NOW A MISNOMER

With only 40.3 per cent. of its white population in 1910, native whites of native parents, New England, the Ancient Home of the Puritan, is today the least Anglo-American section of the United States.

It has become a Capernaum wherein all manner of foreigners mingle and where, by curious irony, "Papist" Irish, and French-Canadians have thickly settled. It is from this element that the Democratic strength in Massachusetts is largely recruited while the allegiance of those representing the original New England stock is to the Republican party.*

Are we approaching the day when the Anglo-Saxon people of the State of Charles Sumner will call on the Anglo-Saxon people he so cordially hated, to preserve for them Anglo-Saxon liberty?

The native white population of Tennessee and Kentucky combined was nearly one million—904,381—more than the total native whites in the six New England States in 1910.

In 1860, New England had 24,711 negroes, in 1910, 66,306, an increase of less than fifty thousand in fifty years. At that rate that part of the Nation that has sought to direct the minds of a people and govern a black empire far away, as England rules India, would attract all the ten million negroes in America to New England in about 10,000 years.

It was largely the influence of New England that made the first politically solid South. It was black, not white.

It is recognized, however, that all the people of New England and the North are not of the same mind. Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks of Boston in 1864, said:

"The people of the North are much more disturbed and distressed at the condition of the negro, than he is himself."

Conditions might have been different had the advice of Gov. John A. Adams, of Massachusetts, in his valedictory address, January 4th, 1866, been followed. He said:

"We ought to demand and to secure the co-operation of the strongest and ablest minds and the natural leaders of opinion in the South."

The Southern white man, in the face of handicaps and obstacles which might well have palsied a less determined people, has demonstrated his ability, absolutely, to control his domestic affairs, regardless of the negro within, or the white man without. It cannot be questioned that he will do so in the future as he has done in the past.

*This was written in February, 1919. The Boston police strike occurred in September, 1919.

In view of this leadership which has developed in the hard school of adversity most certain great and far-reaching in Southern Anglo-American people will the Nation and throughout the world, is not half a century long enough Republican party to ignore the advice of Adams?

The spirit of hate fostered by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and others, has a permanent place in this Republic.

Much is said about the small vote for members of Congress and Presidents in the South. Any criticism of the Republican party comes with poor grace from leaders of the Republican party. Was it not the Republican party that disfranchised the Anglo-Saxon of not only discouraged voting, but making it illegal for whites to vote? The Republican party is estopped from taking advantage of any kind of this condition, at any time, so long as it fosters the spirit of hate developed and maintained by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and their associates and successors.

To canonize Lincoln and to foster the policies of Stevens, Sumner and their associates is rank hypocrisy. Such action is a crime against Anglo-Saxon liberty and the Nation.

It is mild to say that it implants false ideas in the minds of the people. It has come to America to enjoy the right of liberty and property under this government.

There are papers published in Chicago and New York a part of whose fixed editorial policy is to abuse the South and everything Southern. So this they are the enemies of the American people in this nation and the paid or unpaid agents of those who would destroy the Anglo-American institutions of this republic.

Instead of trying to enlighten all the people of the Nation, with a sympathetic attitude would make for unity, and weld the people will be strong in every way in each part of the Nation. A fixed policy born of hatred of the people fostered by the present enemies of the Nation are agencies of discord that are real and comfort to those who would make the Nation weak.

UNNATURALIZED ALIENS CAN VOTE IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

In Indiana (that sometimes goes wrong and sometimes Republican) if a man enters the United States one year, in the State and declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, he can vote and hold office. There are other states with similar provisions.

Those who see a mote in the eye of the South had better remove the Socialistic beam that is infected with the leprous germ of Bolshevism from their own eyes.

While a great majority of those who were born in a foreign country, or whose parents were foreign born, are just as loyal to the government of the United States as the native whites of native parentage, there is an element in this country that is seeking to destroy this government and all of the principles for which it stands.

There are thousands from Continental Europe who have no sympathy with Anglo-Saxon institutions. Many have come here and have been and are now being financed for the express purpose of dividing the people of this nation whose forbears established this Republic. And, there are enough states with lax suffrage laws, like Indiana as an illustration, to enable them to control a National election.

V.

REPUBLICANS WOULD GAIN BY ENCOURAGING SOUTHERN WHITES TO VOTE

Some of the Democratic demagogues from the South are continually flirting with this alien element. Their actions do not meet the approval or the applause of the thoughtful people of the South, but the only effort of the Republican party to correct this condition in the South has been to criticise.

You cannot make an Anglo-Saxon do anything by abusing him. Abuse him and he will fight.

It was disclosed by the Questionnaires filled out by men between the ages of 36 and 45 under the second Selective Service law that there were thousands of white men in the South of that age who have never voted, and who had sons old enough to vote and to fight.

It never seems to have occurred to those who conduct political campaigns that there are any whites in the South who are not Democrats. Southern whites who are not Democrats and who are not seekers after Federal office have received little or no consideration or encouragement from the Republican organization.

Those who have controlled the Republican party in the nation in the past have said to the whites of the South, "If you want to be a Republican you must share your conventions, your delegations, and your campaigns with negroes, if your representatives are to be seated in the National Conventions." Most of the whites who believe in the principles of the Republican party and who have no desire for any sort of Federal office, silently say, "If that is the party law we will have nothing to do with any sort of party organization and will not vote at any election."

The pathetic and dramatic side of it all is that thousands of whites who are not Democrats refrain from participating in elections because of the attitude of the Republican party toward the negroes in the South.

Not being able to express their political convictions freely, they do not express them at all.

By co-operation between the negroes in the South who want "Recognition" and a small coterie of negro agitators in the North who control a few votes in some of the Northern cities successful pressure is brought to bear at National Republican Conventions to seat negro delegates from the South.

Neither of these groups of negroes in the North or South receive much consideration from the great mass of negroes in the South. They retard the intelligent work of the group of real representatives of the negro race in the South.

The Republican party disfranchised the whites of the South not in accordance with the ideas of Lincoln, but in accordance with the will of his enemies, and now some of the Republican leaders have the gall to canonize Lincoln and in the next sentence to criticise the whites of the South because they do not vote.

That group of accessories after the fact is lingering too long. For the good of the party, and more especially for the good of the Nation, they should be passed along to abide with those who were the principals in the crime.

Such criticism as this only encourages the enemies of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

Those who have dominated the organization that controlled the Republican party in the past never seemed to have even asked the question, "Can there any good thing come out of" the South? Is it not time to "come and see?"

You cannot make a real Democrat out of an "old line Whig," "even unto the third and fourth generation."

"We ought to demand, and to secure, the co-operation of the strongest and ablest minds and the natural leaders of opinion in the South," said Governor Adams.

To build up a virile political party in the South under the leadership of Southern men standing for high and patriotic principles of government is an obligation resting upon the Republican party if it is to aid in maintaining the fundamentals upon which this government was established.

Strong men from among the Anglo-Saxon people of the South who command the confidence of their associates in business and in social intercourse, and who can say to them, "We would teach you to be leaders among men," and not followers of demagogues, there are, and who have the moral courage to assert themselves and enlighten their associates upon correct economic

principles and governmental policies; but they will not do so in the interest of the Republican party if the leaders of the Republican party elsewhere continue to ignore such advice as was expressed by Governor Adams, and if there is a continuation of the false policies that maintain the present artificial political conditions.

VI.

EARLY RACIAL GROUPS

In these days when racial groups are being discussed, and when the peoples occupying various parts of the earth are to be given consideration, and especially when the dominant voice and language of the Anglo-Saxon nations of the earth are being heard in determining the future international relations of the world, it is interesting to examine the Anglo-Saxon groups of people in America.

It is the present day Anglo-Saxon people in America whose forefathers founded this Nation—the Nation that made victory for the Allies possible in the final stages of the Great War.

In the early days of the Nation the population of New York was about one-half Dutch, the rest English, Irish and Scotch. New Jersey was settled by Dutch and people from the British Isles. Pennsylvania's population was about one-third German, one-third English and the remainder Scotch and Irish, with some Swedes. The people of New England were chiefly English.

The population of the South Atlantic States was principally English, with some Scotch and Irish, with a considerable number of French, who constituted, and constitute today, the only representatives, in any considerable number, of the European Continental races in this part of the Nation.

From New England and the South Atlantic States came those who settled the Ohio, Tennessee and South Mississippi valleys. The occupation of this territory, with the original Colonial settlements, by Anglo-Saxons is the basis of Anglo-Saxon government in America.

The greater part of the blood that flows in the veins of the American people today is that of people who inhabited the United States prior to 1830. This is the old American group and is chiefly of British origin.

More than three-quarters of a century ago all of this territory settled by these Anglo-Americans had been organized into States. This was before there was much emigration from Continental Europe to any of the States. According to the Federal Census of 1910, two-thirds of the descendants of these original settlers lived in the States established in this territory. It was the ancestors of these people that founded this government.

VII.

COMPARISONS OF STATE G

The total population of Continental States in 1910 was 91,972,266 of which were native whites of native parentage were of foreign or mixed parentage foreign born, 9,827,763 negroes and Indian, Chinese, Japanese and all other races. The native whites of native parentage are principally Anglo-Americans.

The Census Bureau does not compute the center of population for the native white parents! It does compute the center of population for the negroes, and for the foreign born, and for the total population.

In 1910 the center of population for the United States was near Ft. Payne in the northeast corner of Alabama. The center of population for the foreign born was near Defiance, Ohio, in the north part of the state, within less than 40 miles of Indiana and Michigan boundaries. The center of population for the foreign born population has been near Defiance since 1880.

The center of population for the native whites of native parentage was at Indianapolis, about 50 miles southwest of Indianapolis.

While the center of population for the native whites of native parentage has not been computed by the Census Bureau, undoubtedly it is not many miles from Hodgenville, near the center of the state, the birthplace of the great Anglo-American, Abraham Lincoln.

For the purpose of making comparisons of the States are here divided into five groups, as follows: (1) The **New England group**, viz., Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; (2) the **Middle Atlantic group**, viz., New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; (3) the **Ohio Valley group**, viz., Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky; (4) the **Tennessee Basin group**, viz., West Virginia (originally a part of Virginia), North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky; and (5) all the states west of the Mississippi River except Arkansas, the Florida, Maryland, Delaware, Michigan, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

All these States placed in the latter group have less than 75 per cent. of the white population, native white of native white parentage except Oklahoma with 90.7 per cent., Minnesota with 76.2 per cent., Florida with 84.3 per cent., Louisiana with 81.2 per cent., and New Mexico with 83.9 per cent. The States of the Union have contributed to the population of Missouri and Oklahoma in Florida, Texas and New Mexico.

ABSTRACT OF THE CENSUS—POPULATION.

COLOR OR RACE, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1910 AND 1900.

DIVISION AND STATE.	POPULATION BY COLOR OR RACE.												
	Total.		White.		Negro.		Indian.		Chinese.		Japanese.		All other: 1910
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	
United States	91,972,286	75,994,575	81,731,967	66,808,194	9,827,763	8,833,994	265,683	237,196	71,831	89,863	72,157	24,326	3,175
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:													
New England.....	6,552,681	5,502,017	6,480,514	5,527,026	66,306	59,099	2,076	1,600	3,499	4,203	272	69	14
Middle Atlantic.....	19,315,882	15,454,678	18,880,452	15,110,862	417,870	325,921	7,717	6,959	8,189	10,490	1,643	446	21
East North Central.....	18,250,621	15,985,581	17,927,622	15,710,053	300,836	257,842	18,255	15,027	3,415	2,533	482	126	11
West North Central.....	11,637,921	10,347,423	11,351,621	10,065,817	242,662	237,909	41,406	42,339	1,195	1,135	1,000	223	37
South Atlantic.....	12,194,895	10,443,480	8,071,603	6,706,058	4,112,458	3,729,017	9,054	6,585	1,582	1,791	156	29	12
East South Central.....	8,409,901	7,547,757	5,754,326	5,044,847	2,652,513	2,499,886	2,612	2,560	414	427	26	7	10
West South Central.....	8,784,534	6,532,290	6,721,491	4,771,065	1,984,426	1,694,066	76,767	65,574	1,303	1,555	428	30	119
Mountain.....	2,633,517	1,674,657	2,520,455	1,579,855	21,467	15,590	75,338	66,155	5,614	7,960	10,447	5,107	194
Pacific.....	4,192,304	2,416,692	4,023,873	2,293,613	29,195	14,664	32,458	30,367	46,320	59,779	57,703	18,269	2,755
NEW ENGLAND:													
Maine.....	742,371	694,466	739,995	692,226	1,363	1,319	892	798	108	119	13	4	.....
New Hampshire.....	430,572	411,588	429,906	410,791	564	662	34	22	67	112	1	1	.....
Vermont.....	355,956	343,641	354,298	342,771	1,621	826	26	5	8	39	3	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	3,366,416	2,805,346	3,324,926	2,769,764	38,055	31,974	688	587	2,582	2,968	151	53	14
Rhode Island.....	542,610	428,556	532,492	419,050	9,529	9,092	284	35	272	366	33	13	.....
Connecticut.....	1,114,756	908,420	1,098,897	892,424	15,174	15,226	152	153	462	599	71	18	.....
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:													
New York.....	9,113,614	7,268,894	8,966,845	7,156,881	134,191	99,232	6,046	5,257	5,266	7,170	1,247	254	19
New Jersey.....	2,537,167	1,883,669	2,445,894	1,812,317	89,760	69,844	168	63	1,139	1,393	206	52	.....
Pennsylvania.....	7,665,111	6,302,115	7,467,713	6,141,664	193,919	156,845	1,603	1,639	1,784	1,927	190	40	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:													
Ohio.....	4,767,121	4,157,545	4,654,897	4,060,204	111,452	96,901	127	42	569	371	76	27	.....
Indiana.....	2,700,876	2,516,462	2,639,961	2,458,502	60,380	57,505	279	243	276	207	38	5	2
Illinois.....	5,638,591	4,821,550	5,526,962	4,734,873	109,049	85,078	188	16	2,103	1,503	285	80	4
Michigan.....	2,810,173	2,420,982	2,785,247	2,398,563	17,115	15,816	7,519	6,354	241	240	49	9	2
Wisconsin.....	2,333,860	2,069,042	2,320,555	2,057,911	2,900	2,542	10,142	8,372	226	212	34	5	3
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:													
Minnesota.....	2,075,708	1,751,394	2,069,227	1,737,036	7,084	4,959	9,053	9,182	275	166	67	51	2
Iowa.....	2,224,771	2,231,853	2,209,191	2,218,667	14,973	12,693	471	382	97	104	36	7	3
Missouri.....	3,293,335	3,106,665	3,134,932	2,944,843	157,452	161,234	313	130	535	449	99	9	4
North Dakota.....	577,056	319,146	569,855	311,712	617	286	6,486	6,968	39	32	59	148	.....
South Dakota.....	583,888	401,570	563,771	380,714	817	465	19,137	20,225	121	165	42	1	.....
Nebraska.....	1,192,214	1,066,300	1,180,293	1,056,526	7,689	6,269	3,502	3,322	112	180	50	3	28
Kansas.....	1,690,949	1,470,495	1,634,352	1,416,319	54,030	52,003	2,444	2,130	16	39	107	4	.....
SOUTH ATLANTIC:													
Delaware.....	202,322	184,735	171,102	153,977	31,181	30,697	5	9	30	51	4	1	.....
Maryland.....	1,295,346	1,188,044	1,062,639	952,424	232,250	235,064	55	3	378	544	24	9	.....
District of Columbia.....	331,069	278,718	236,128	191,532	94,446	86,702	68	22	369	455	47	7	11
Virginia.....	2,061,612	1,854,184	1,389,809	1,192,855	671,096	660,722	539	354	154	243	14	10	.....
West Virginia.....	1,221,119	958,800	1,156,817	915,233	64,173	43,499	36	12	90	56	3	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	2,200,287	1,893,810	1,500,511	1,263,603	697,843	624,469	7,851	5,687	80	51	2	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	1,515,400	1,340,316	679,161	557,807	835,843	782,321	331	121	57	67	8	.....	.....
Georgia.....	2,609,121	2,216,331	1,431,802	1,181,294	1,176,987	1,034,813	95	19	233	204	4	1	.....
Florida.....	752,619	528,542	443,634	297,333	308,669	230,730	74	358	191	120	0	1	1
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:													
Kentucky.....	2,289,905	2,147,174	2,027,951	1,862,309	261,656	284,706	234	102	52	57	12	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	2,184,789	2,020,616	1,711,432	1,540,186	473,088	480,243	216	108	43	75	8	4	2
Alabama.....	2,138,093	1,828,697	1,228,832	1,001,152	908,282	827,307	909	177	62	58	4	3	4
Mississippi.....	1,797,114	1,551,270	786,111	641,200	1,009,487	907,630	1,253	2,203	257	237	2	.....	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:													
Arkansas.....	1,574,449	1,311,564	1,131,026	944,580	442,891	366,856	460	66	62	62	9	.....	1
Louisiana.....	1,656,388	1,381,625	941,086	729,612	713,874	650,804	780	593	507	599	31	17	110
Oklahoma.....	1,657,155	790,391	1,444,531	670,204	137,612	55,684	74,825	64,445	139	58	48	.....	.....
Texas.....	3,896,542	3,048,710	3,204,848	2,426,669	690,049	620,722	702	470	595	836	340	13	8
MOUNTAIN:													
Montana.....	376,053	243,329	360,580	226,283	1,834	1,523	10,745	11,313	1,285	1,739	1,585	2,441	24
Idaho.....	325,594	161,772	319,221	154,495	651	293	3,488	4,226	859	1,467	1,363	1,291	12
Wyoming.....	145,965	92,531	140,318	89,051	2,235	940	1,456	1,686	246	461	1,506	393	84
Colorado.....	799,024	539,700	783,415	529,046	11,453	8,570	1,482	1,437	373	399	2,300	48	1
New Mexico.....	327,301	195,310	304,594	180,207	1,628	1,610	20,573	13,144	248	341	258	8	.....
Arizona.....	204,354	122,931	171,468	92,903	2,009	1,848	29,201	26,480	1,305	1,419	371	281	.....
Utah.....	373,351	276,749	366,583	272,465	1,144	672	3,123	2,623	371	572	2,110	417	20
Nevada.....	81,875	42,335	74,276	35,405	513	134	5,240	5,216	927	1,352	864	228	55
PACIFIC:													
Washington.....	1,141,990	518,103	1,109,111	496,304	6,058	2,514	10,997	10,039	2,709	3,629	12,929	5,617	186
Oregon.....	672,765	413,536	655,000	394,582	1,492	1,105	5,090	4,951	7,363	10,397	3,418	2,501	312
California.....	2,377,549	1,485,053	2,259,672	1,402,727	21,645	11,045	16,371	15,377	36,245	45,733	41,356	10,151	2,257

* Includes population of Indian Territory for 1900.

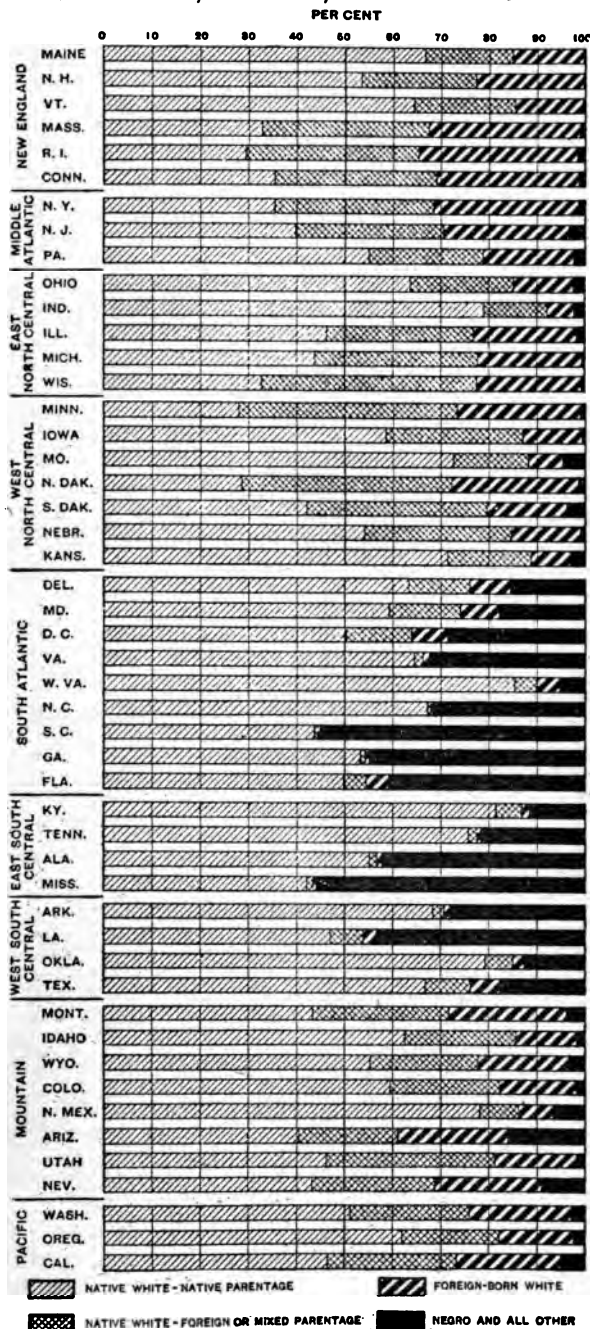
COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE.

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1910 AND 1900.

DIVISION AND STATE.	TOTAL POPULATION BY NATIVITY				WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE.							
	Native.		Foreign born.		Native.							
					Total.		Native parentage.		Foreign parentage.		Mixed parentage.	
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
United States.....	73,454,398	63,239,123	12,515,988	10,341,276	61,338,412	54,896,379	49,628,576	49,948,362	12,516,311	20,622,369	5,961,526	5,613,737
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:												
New England.....	4,727,571	4,146,780	1,825,110	1,445,237	4,686,129	4,080,154	2,613,419	2,511,110	1,480,365	1,117,093	392,144	661,931
Middle Atlantic.....	14,464,719	12,137,119	4,851,173	3,317,539	14,064,273	11,808,746	8,462,961	7,406,579	4,113,076	3,143,021	1,478,236	1,339,146
East North Central.....	15,176,855	13,360,355	3,073,786	2,625,226	14,800,402	13,089,756	9,751,968	8,488,016	3,430,615	3,110,764	1,636,419	1,690,936
West North Central.....	10,021,226	8,814,175	1,616,695	1,533,248	9,738,390	8,534,712	6,533,687	5,660,903	2,102,703	1,833,117	1,112,000	940,662
South Atlantic.....	11,894,901	10,227,450	299,994	216,090	7,781,048	6,407,175	7,341,305	6,107,314	274,431	333,571	163,395	153,990
East South Central.....	8,322,076	7,457,189	87,825	90,568	5,667,469	4,953,165	5,452,492	4,735,774	123,915	131,048	91,062	98,343
West South Central.....	8,432,342	6,265,203	352,192	267,067	6,372,732	4,507,065	5,767,449	4,038,944	364,032	265,731	241,351	192,330
Mountain.....	2,180,195	1,372,688	453,322	301,909	2,063,545	1,291,494	1,466,624	853,101	370,009	268,253	246,912	170,138
Pacific.....	3,236,495	1,872,340	955,909	544,352	3,162,425	1,821,122	2,108,770	1,165,621	657,545	411,310	396,110	244,191
NEW ENGLAND:												
Maine.....	631,809	601,136	110,662	93,330	629,862	599,291	494,907	493,062	73,435	58,306	61,500	47,903
New Hampshire.....	333,905	323,481	96,667	88,107	333,348	322,530	230,231	242,614	67,601	53,262	35,316	36,934
Vermont.....	306,035	298,804	40,921	44,747	304,437	298,077	229,382	225,381	30,507	38,339	35,548	34,437
Massachusetts.....	2,307,171	1,959,022	1,069,246	846,334	2,273,676	1,929,650	1,103,439	1,032,264	846,830	650,094	333,697	246,062
Rhode Island.....	363,469	294,087	179,141	134,519	354,467	285,278	159,821	144,986	144,270	104,067	50,376	86,303
Connecticut.....	785,182	670,210	329,574	238,210	770,138	655,028	395,649	372,783	366,912	212,485	85,877	69,790
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:												
New York.....	6,365,603	5,368,469	2,748,011	1,900,425	6,237,573	5,267,358	8,230,325	2,851,513	2,341,837	1,761,868	765,411	663,977
New Jersey.....	1,876,379	1,451,786	660,788	431,884	1,787,706	1,382,367	1,009,909	828,973	576,011	402,893	201,739	153,401
Pennsylvania.....	6,222,737	5,316,865	1,442,374	985,250	6,028,964	5,159,121	4,222,727	3,729,063	1,265,238	978,200	511,039	431,768
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:												
Ohio.....	4,168,747	3,698,811	598,374	458,734	4,057,652	3,602,304	3,033,259	2,651,440	671,275	612,518	333,118	334,346
Indiana.....	2,541,213	2,374,341	150,963	142,121	2,480,639	2,316,641	2,130,088	1,952,194	211,008	218,783	139,843	148,062
Illinois.....	4,433,277	3,854,803	1,205,314	966,747	4,324,402	3,770,238	2,600,553	2,271,765	1,232,155	1,070,211	491,092	428,262
Michigan.....	2,212,623	1,879,329	597,550	541,653	2,189,723	1,858,367	1,224,841	1,026,714	611,319	535,847	335,363	294,106
Wisconsin.....	1,820,995	1,553,071	512,865	515,971	1,807,986	1,542,206	763,225	685,903	734,258	678,728	320,608	277,680
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:												
Minnesota.....	1,532,113	1,246,076	543,595	505,318	1,516,217	1,232,101	575,081	425,780	667,460	597,800	273,676	206,321
Iowa.....	1,951,006	1,625,933	273,765	305,920	1,935,707	1,912,885	1,303,526	1,261,068	395,541	419,123	236,640	332,694
Missouri.....	3,063,556	2,890,286	229,779	216,379	2,906,036	2,729,068	2,387,835	2,204,874	312,027	319,110	208,174	205,084
North Dakota.....	420,402	206,055	156,654	113,091	413,697	199,122	162,461	65,811	108,064	102,680	71,182	30,631
South Dakota.....	483,098	313,062	100,790	88,508	463,423	292,385	245,632	136,191	143,045	110,915	74,446	46,279
Nebraska.....	1,015,552	888,953	176,662	177,347	1,004,148	879,409	642,075	553,524	234,070	221,983	127,683	108,902
Kansas.....	1,555,499	1,343,810	135,450	126,685	1,499,162	1,289,742	1,207,067	1,013,655	169,900	161,606	122,199	114,581
SOUTH ATLANTIC:												
Delaware.....	184,830	170,925	17,492	13,810	183,682	140,248	127,809	118,029	17,868	14,767	8,307	7,432
Maryland.....	1,190,402	1,094,110	104,944	93,934	1,185,468	1,090,280	766,627	680,049	130,321	119,188	61,517	60,043
District of Columbia.....	306,167	258,599	24,902	20,119	211,777	172,012	166,711	134,073	26,822	22,449	18,544	15,400
Virginia.....	2,034,555	1,834,723	27,057	10,461	1,963,181	1,737,787	1,325,238	1,141,213	21,613	17,090	16,330	15,475
West Virginia.....	1,163,901	936,349	57,218	22,451	1,099,745	862,854	1,042,107	843,981	35,407	20,838	22,231	22,033
North Carolina.....	2,200,195	1,889,318	6,092	4,492	1,494,609	1,259,209	1,485,718	1,250,811	3,868	3,321	4,968	5,077
South Carolina.....	1,509,221	1,334,788	6,179	5,528	673,107	552,436	661,970	540,766	5,789	5,030	5,378	5,734
Georgia.....	2,593,644	2,203,928	15,477	12,403	1,416,730	1,106,273	1,391,058	1,144,360	13,222	12,006	12,440	12,907
Florida.....	711,986	504,710	40,633	23,832	409,792	278,076	373,967	254,032	20,145	12,967	15,680	11,777
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:												
Kentucky.....	2,249,743	2,096,925	40,162	50,249	1,987,898	1,812,176	1,863,194	1,673,413	76,823	86,236	48,181	82,827
Tennessee.....	2,166,182	2,002,870	18,607	17,746	1,692,973	1,522,600	1,654,606	1,481,036	20,872	21,281	17,795	19,668
Alabama.....	2,118,807	1,814,105	19,286	14,592	1,209,878	986,814	1,177,459	956,658	17,607	15,186	14,750	14,970
Mississippi.....	1,787,344	1,543,289	9,770	7,981	776,722	633,575	757,233	618,067	9,153	8,345	10,330	11,168
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:												
Arkansas.....	1,557,403	1,297,275	17,046	14,289	1,114,117	930,394	1,077,509	897,668	16,387	15,199	15,221	17,827
Louisiana.....	1,603,622	1,328,722	52,766	52,903	889,304	677,759	776,587	569,962	68,349	63,197	44,328	44,680
Oklahoma.....	1,616,713	769,853	40,442	20,538	1,404,447	649,814	1,310,403	601,552	49,877	24,683	44,167	23,579
Texas.....	3,654,604	2,869,353	241,938	179,357	2,964,864	2,249,088	2,002,960	1,959,702	227,379	182,582	184,635	106,744
MOUNTAIN:												
Montana.....	281,340	176,262	94,713	67,067	268,936	163,910	162,127	92,937	66,006	46,246	38,203	24,797
Idaho.....	283,016	137,168	42,578	24,604	278,794	132,605	203,599	89,851	40,075	23,373	35,120	19,881
Wyoming.....	116,945	75,116	29,020	17,415	113,200	72,469	80,696	47,982	19,751	18,450	12,753	9,037
Colorado.....	669,437	448,545	129,587	91,155	656,504	438,571	475,136	311,335	114,747	79,092	66,681	47,544
New Mexico.....	304,155	181,685	23,146	13,625	281,940	166,946	255,609	149,029	14,410	9,077	11,921	8,240
Arizona.....	155,589	98,698	48,765	24,233	124,644	70,508	82,408	44,830	26,117	15,466	16,059	10,212
Utah.....	307,529	222,972	65,822	53,777	303,190	219,661	171,063	104,028	73,963	69,204	57,544	46,431
Nevada.....	62,184	32,242	19,691	10,093	56,277	26,824	35,226	15,111	12,220	7,147	8,631	4,566
PACIFIC:												
Washington.....	885,749	406,739	256,241	111,364	867,914	394,179	585,396	265,066	174,845	79,422	107,663	49,689
Oregon.....	559,629	347,788	113,136	65,748	582,089	340,721	416,851	256,125	79,336	49,068	56,902	26,538
California.....	1,791,117	1,117,813	586,432	367,240	1,742,422	1,066,222	1,106,533	644,428	402,364	282,830	222,625	156,964

Includes population of Indian Territory for 1900.

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE: 1910.



DIVISION AND STATE.	PER CENT OF TOTAL WHITE POPULATION.							
	Native.						Foreign born.	
	Total.		Native parentage.		Foreign or mixed parentage.			
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
United States.....	83.7	84.7	60.5	61.3	23.1	23.4	16.3	15.3
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:								
New England.....	72.0	74.0	40.3	45.4	31.7	28.6	28.0	26.0
Maine.....	74.4	78.1	44.8	49.0	29.6	29.1	25.6	21.9
New Hampshire.....	82.9	83.3	54.4	54.0	28.5	29.3	17.1	16.7
Vermont.....	85.8	84.8	57.5	56.2	28.3	28.6	14.2	15.2
Massachusetts.....	96.4	96.9	91.0	91.1	5.4	5.8	3.6	3.1
Rhode Island.....	98.5	98.2	94.8	93.7	3.7	4.5	1.5	1.8
Connecticut.....	94.8	94.5	85.8	84.4	9.0	10.0	5.2	5.5
Middle Atlantic.....	82.7	81.7	58.2	54.1	24.5	27.6	17.3	18.3
New York.....	78.6	79.4	52.4	50.8	26.2	28.6	21.4	20.6
New Jersey.....	85.1	86.6	66.9	71.2	18.2	15.3	14.9	13.4
Pennsylvania.....	77.5	78.6	53.0	59.1	24.0	19.5	22.5	21.4
Delaware.....	85.9	87.0	64.7	65.8	21.2	21.2	14.1	13.0
Maryland.....	68.4	69.7	33.2	37.3	35.2	32.4	31.6	30.3
District of Columbia.....	66.6	68.1	30.0	34.6	36.6	33.5	33.4	31.9
Virginia.....	70.1	73.4	36.0	41.8	34.1	31.6	29.9	26.6
East North Central.....	69.6	73.6	36.0	39.8	33.5	33.8	30.4	26.4
Ohio.....	73.1	76.3	41.3	45.6	31.8	30.7	26.9	23.7
Indiana.....	80.7	84.0	56.5	60.7	24.2	23.3	19.3	16.0
Illinois.....	87.2	88.7	65.2	65.3	22.0	23.4	12.8	11.3
Michigan.....	84.0	84.2	60.7	79.4	23.3	14.8	6.0	5.8
Wisconsin.....	78.2	79.6	47.1	48.0	31.2	31.6	21.8	20.4
Minnesota.....	78.6	77.5	44.0	42.8	34.6	34.7	21.4	22.5
Iowa.....	77.9	74.9	32.9	28.5	45.0	46.5	22.1	25.1
Missouri.....	73.6	70.9	27.9	24.5	45.7	46.4	26.4	29.1
North Dakota.....	87.6	86.2	59.0	56.8	28.6	29.4	12.4	13.8
South Dakota.....	92.7	92.7	76.2	74.9	16.5	17.8	7.3	7.3
Nebraska.....	72.6	63.9	28.5	21.1	44.1	42.8	27.4	36.1
Kansas.....	82.2	76.8	43.6	35.8	38.6	41.0	17.8	23.2
Nebraska.....	85.1	83.2	54.4	52.4	30.7	30.8	14.9	16.8
Florida.....	91.7	91.1	73.9	71.6	17.9	19.5	8.3	8.9
South Atlantic.....	89.8	91.1	74.7	76.7	15.1	14.4	10.2	8.9
Delaware.....	90.2	90.2	72.1	71.4	18.1	18.8	9.8	9.8
Maryland.....	89.7	89.8	70.6	70.0	19.1	19.8	10.3	10.2
District of Columbia.....	98.1	98.4	95.4	95.7	2.7	2.7	1.9	1.6
Virginia.....	95.1	97.6	90.1	92.2	5.0	5.3	4.9	2.4
West Virginia.....	99.6	99.7	99.0	99.0	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.3
North Carolina.....	99.1	99.0	97.5	96.9	1.6	2.1	0.9	1.0
South Carolina.....	98.9	99.0	97.2	96.9	1.8	2.1	1.1	1.0
Georgia.....	92.4	93.5	84.3	83.4	8.1	8.1	7.6	6.5
East South Central.....	96.0	97.3	91.9	89.9	6.1	7.5	2.0	2.7
Kentucky.....	98.9	98.9	96.7	96.2	2.2	2.7	1.1	1.1
Tennessee.....	98.5	98.6	95.8	95.6	2.6	3.0	1.5	1.4
Alabama.....	98.8	98.8	95.8	95.8	2.5	3.0	1.2	1.2
Mississippi.....	98.5	98.5	95.3	95.0	3.2	3.5	1.5	1.5
West South Central.....	94.5	92.9	82.5	78.1	12.0	14.8	5.5	7.1
Louisiana.....	97.2	97.0	90.7	89.8	6.5	7.2	2.8	3.0
Oklahoma.....	92.5	92.7	81.2	80.8	11.3	11.9	7.5	7.3
Texas.....	74.6	72.4	45.0	41.1	29.6	31.4	25.4	27.6
Mountain.....	87.3	85.8	63.8	58.2	23.6	27.7	12.7	14.2
Montana.....	80.7	81.4	57.5	53.9	23.2	27.5	19.3	18.6
Idaho.....	83.8	82.9	60.6	58.8	23.2	24.1	16.2	17.1
Wyoming.....	92.6	92.6	83.9	82.7	8.6	9.9	7.4	7.4
Colorado.....	72.7	75.9	48.1	48.3	24.6	27.6	27.3	24.1
New Mexico.....	82.7	80.6	46.8	38.2	35.9	42.4	17.5	19.4
Arizona.....	75.8	75.8	47.6	42.7	28.2	33.1	24.2	24.2
Nevada.....	78.3	79.4	52.8	53.4	25.5	26.0	21.7	20.6
Pacific.....	84.3	86.3	63.6	64.9	20.6	21.4	15.7	13.7
Washington.....	77.1	77.4	49.0	45.9	28.1	31.5	22.9	22.6
Oregon.....								
California.....								

¹ Includes Indian Territory for 1900.

WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE: CENSUS 1910

found among the whites of native parentage a considerable number of people of Spanish descent, and in Louisiana a considerable number of Spanish and French descent.

While some of the other States in the last named group (5) have a large percentage of native whites of native parentage, it is to groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 that we look for special and interesting analysis and comparison. In groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 is comprised all the territory forming a part of and controlled by the Original Thirteen Colonies except Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Michigan and Wisconsin. Arkansas is the only state included in these four groups the territory of which was not a part of the original territory of the Colonies.

The ten States (formerly nine) designated as the **Tennessee Basin group** (4) are so designated for the reason that with the exception of South Carolina and Arkansas, water that falls in all of these States flows through the Tennessee River. The Tennessee River, as it were, threads these States together, and is the one topographical feature that is common to all of them, except two.

The white population of all the **Tennessee Basin group** of States is more than 95 per cent. native whites of native parentage, except Kentucky, with 91.9 per cent. and West Virginia with 90.1 per cent. North Carolina is 99 per cent. native whites of native parentage. Excluding the 34,780 whites that constituted the foreign element in the four large cities of the State, Tennessee had 99 per cent. of its white population native white of native parentage. It should be remembered that native whites are persons having both parents born in the United States.

In 1910 the total population of the groups of states here designated as groups 1, 2, 3, and 4 was as follows:

(1) **The six New England States**; total population 6,552,681 of which 2,613,419 were native whites of native parentage, 3,867,095 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 66,306 negroes, 5,861 Indians, Japanese and others.

(2) **The three Middle Atlantic States**, viz., New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; total population 19,315,892, of which 8,462,961 were native whites of native parentage, 10,417,491 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 417,870 negroes, 17,570 Indians, Japanese and others.

(3) **The three North Ohio River Valley States**, viz., Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, total population 13,106,588, of which 7,763,902 were native whites of native parentage, 5,057,918 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 280,821 negroes, 3,947 Indians, Japanese and others.

(4) **The Tennessee Basin group** (formerly nine), viz., Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, total population 19,597,843, of which 12,436,092 were native whites of native parentage, 607,360 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 6,541,346 negroes, 23,400 Indians, Japanese and others.

The combined population of comprising the New England and Middle Atlantic States was 25,868,573, of which 12,436,092 were native whites of native parentage, 607,360 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 484,176 negroes, 23,400 Indians, Japanese and others.

The combined population of comprising New England and Ohio River Valley group was 19,597,843, of which 12,436,092 were native whites of native parentage, 607,360 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 247,127 negroes, 23,400 Indians, Japanese and others.

These combinations of group had a little more than 19,000,000 total native white population born and living in the South and in the North was 19,671,391.

The **Tennessee River Basin group** was 97 per cent. native white parentage. The total white population was 13,043,452 of which 12,436,092 were native whites of native parentage and 607,360 foreign born or of foreign or mixed parentage.

As Virginia originally included West Virginia it may be said that for purposes of comparison, there are nine States here compared.

In the **Tennessee Basin group** there were 712 more native whites of native parentage in the six New England States and three Middle Atlantic States.

There were in the **Tennessee Basin group** 771 more native whites of native parentage in the six New England States and three North Ohio River States.

Of the 607,360 foreign born and whites of foreign or mixed parentage living in the Tennessee Basin group 279,467 lived in Kentucky and Virginia that the whites of the other eight States were 98.5 per cent. native, of native parentage, the small foreign element in the group is composed principally of enterprisers, who are found in practicing center.

The Federal Census of 1910 shows that native whites of native parentage in the New England States constituted only 12.4 per cent. of the total white population of New England.

Potential Voters and Vote Cast in Congressional Districts and Grand Divisions of State, in Tennessee

Congressional District No.	No. Counties in District	Total Population of District	Total No. Males Over 21 Years of Age in 1910	No. White Males Over 21 in 1910	No. Negro Males Over 21 in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males Over 21 in 1910	Percentage of Total Average Presidential Vote Cast of Total Potential Vote	Percentage of Total Average Presidential Vote Cast of Total White Potential Vote
1	12	241,853	56,924	54,058	2,866	5.0	61.5	64.8
2	10	252,338	61,841	55,425	6,416	9.4	46.5	51.9
3	15	265,724	67,796	56,256	11,540	17.0	47.7	57.4
4	14	198,646	47,901	42,877	5,024	10.5	62.3	69.6
5	8	145,330	35,984	29,419	6,565	18.3	58.3	71.0
6	5	234,016	62,615	44,543	18,072	23.9	35.1	49.3
7	10	189,576	46,399	35,833	10,566	22.8	52.5	68.0
8	10	180,119	43,881	35,772	8,109	18.5	58.1	71.3
9	8	203,021	50,309	36,974	13,335	20.7	43.1	58.7
10	4	274,166	79,018	42,369	36,649	46.4	22.8	42.5
Total for State 96		2,184,789	552,668	433,526	119,142	21.6	46.5	59.3
EAST TENNESSEE								
1-2-3-4†	51	958,561	234,462	208,616	25,846	10.8	53.9	59.8
MIDDLE TENNESSEE								
5-6-7	23	568,922	144,993	109,795	35,203	25.0	43.9	58.1
WEST TENNESSEE								
8-9-10	22	657,306	173,208	115,115	58,093	33.6	37.6	56.6
Total for State 96		2,184,739	552,668	433,526	119,142	21.6	46.5	59.3
Totals for Nine Counties, viz: Davidson, Madison, Haywood, Lake, Lauderdale, Fayette, Hardeman, Shelby, and Warren								
	9	518,718	144,039	83,986	60,053	41.7	26.2	44.9

† Fourth District partly in Middle Tennessee

c: Census 1910; Presidential Elections 1908-1912-1916, and Gubernatorial Elections 1912.

Total Vote Cast for President	Republican Vote for President	Percent. of Total Vote. Republican	Democratic Vote for President	Percent. of Total Vote. Democratic	Republican Vote for Governor	Democratic Vote for Governor
35,491	23,371	66.2	12,002*	33.8	18,514*	10,742*
35,636†	24,587†	69.0	11,059†	31.0	22,811†	11,133†
33,942¶	23,191¶	68.3	10,751¶	31.7		
28,486*	19,287*	67.4	9,205*	32.6	15,323*	8,142*
27,166†	18,323†	67.4	8,838†	32.6	16,888†	8,656†
30,573¶	21,292¶	69.7	9,281¶	30.3		
35,495*	16,047*	45.7	19,343*	54.3	13,317*	15,855*
29,650†	13,550†	45.7	16,100†	54.3	13,424†	15,312†
31,858¶	15,165¶	44.5	16,693¶	55.5		
29,436*	12,323*	41.9	17,200*	58.1	13,930*	14,906*
28,287†	12,374†	43.7	15,913†	56.3	14,517†	13,291†
28,237¶	13,102¶	46.4	15,135¶	53.6		
20,476*	5,822*	28.4	14,868*	71.6	9,559*	12,720*
22,064†	7,174†	32.5	14,890†	67.5	10,197†	11,331†
19,833¶	6,699¶	34.8	13,134¶	65.2		
21,790*	5,946*	27.2	15,885*	72.8	8,383*	14,677*
21,155†	5,105†	24.1	16,050†	75.9	8,479†	13,107†
22,989¶	6,620¶	28.8	16,369¶	71.2		
24,840*	9,385*	37.8	15,547*	62.2	11,534*	13,919*
24,405†	9,655†	39.6	14,750†	60.4	12,195†	11,835†
23,777¶	9,814¶	40.9	13,963¶	59.1		
27,167*	12,450*	45.5	14,702*	54.5	13,793*	13,257*
25,188†	12,622†	50.9	12,566†	49.9	13,069†	10,917†
24,151¶	11,369¶	47.1	12,782¶	52.9		
24,097*	6,171*	25.4	18,006*	74.6	8,372*	13,044*
19,852†	6,864†	35.0	12,988†	65.0	8,797†	10,105†
21,068¶	6,655¶	31.5	14,413¶	68.5		
21,935*	5,421*	24.6	16,544*	75.4	3,952*	20,394*
14,880†	5,009†	33.7	9,871†	66.3	4,264†	10,923†
17,157¶	4,667¶	26.7	12,490¶	73.3		
269,505*	116,223*	43.2	153,282*	56.8	116,677*	137,656*
248,293†	115,268†	46.4	133,025†	53.6	124,641†	116,610†
253,585¶	118,574¶	47.0	135,011¶	53.0		
NESSEE						
128,908*	71,028*	55.3	57,730*	44.7	61,084*	49,645*
120,749†	68,839†	57.0	51,910†	43.0	67,640†	48,392†
124,610¶	72,750¶	58.4	51,860¶	41.6		
TENNESSEE						
67,106*	21,153*	31.5	46,300*	68.5	29,476*	41,316*
67,624†	21,934†	32.4	45,690†	67.6	30,871†	36,273†
66,599¶	23,133¶	34.7	43,466¶	65.3		
NESSEE						
73,199*	24,042*	32.7	49,252*	67.3	26,117*	46,695*
59,920†	24,495†	41.0	35,425†	59.0	26,130†	31,945†
62,376¶	22,691¶	36.4	39,685¶	63.6		
269,505*	116,223*	43.2	153,282*	56.8	116,677*	137,656*
248,293†	115,268†	46.4	133,025†	53.6	124,641†	116,610†
253,585¶	118,574¶	47.0	135,011¶	53.0		
and Tipton, in which resided more than 50 per cent. of the Total Negroes in Tennessee: Census 1910.						
42,551*	10,506*	24.1	32,045*	75.9	11,821*	34,543*
34,880†	10,371†	29.5	24,579†	70.5	12,325†	23,448†
35,833¶	9,631¶	27.0	26,202¶	73.0		

Vote in 1916, Hughes, Rep.; Wilson, Dem.

Vote in 1912, Taft, Rep., 59,381—Roosevelt, Pro., 55,887: Total, 115,268.
combined and here designated Rep.; Wilson, Dem.

Vote in 1908, Taft, Rep.; Bryan, Dem.

FOR GOVERNOR

* 1914, Hooper, Rep., Rye, D
† 1912, Hooper, Rep., McKinn

was that the native whites of native in the three Middle Atlantic States only 44.8 per cent. of the total white population that the native whites of native in the North Ohio Valley group is only 71.1 of the total white population, ranging 71.1 in Illinois, 65.2 in Ohio, to 80.7 in the Tennessee Basin Group the natives were 97 per cent. of the total white

re whites of native parentage population entire South was 18,561,146. This is 97 per cent. of the total native whites in the States.

Tennessee River Basin group of 12,436,092 natives of native parentage is the largest single group of Anglo-Saxon people found outside of England.

It is the center of that group; and from the King's Mountain in the American South to the battles of the Hindenburg Line have gone, as from adjoining states, the men of spectacular achievement who have been the integral part of the hinges upon which the history of the world.

IRISH LIVE IN IRELAND, THE SCOTTS IN SCOTLAND, AND THE ENGLISH IN ENGLAND. THAT PORTION OF THE WHITE RACE COMPRISING THE TENNESSEE BASIN GROUP OF STATES CAN ONLY BE CALLED

SAXLAND

INDIAN COUNTY GROUPS COMPARED

in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois that had eight thousand negro population in Chicago, 44,103; Indianapolis, 21,816; 19,639; Columbus, 12,739, and Cleveland, making a total of 106,745—38 per cent. of the total negro population in these three

three cities of Tennessee, having more than eight thousand negro population, Memphis; Nashville, 36,523; and Chattanooga, making a total of 106,906—22.6 per cent. of the total population in the State, and 35.5 per cent. of the total population in these three cities. It is seen that the three Tennessee cities, having a population of more than eight thousand, have more negro population than the combined population of the five principal cities of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—106,845. This 106,845 is 38 per cent. of the total population of the States.

Shelby County, Tennessee, has a population of 131,105, of

which 40 per cent. was negro) is situated, was 191,439, of which 91,719 were negroes.

Excepting Washington, D. C., with a negro population of 94,436, there are more negroes in Shelby County, Tennessee, than in any city or county in the United States. In Shelby County the race relations are good.

The total population of Greater New York was 4,766,883, of which 91,709 were negroes. That is to say, there were in 1910, ten more negroes in Shelby County, Tennessee, than in Greater New York. There were 84,459 negroes in Philadelphia, having a total population of 1,549,008—7,260 less negroes than resided in Shelby County, Tennessee. The negro population of Shelby County, Tennessee, was 25,413 more than in all the six New England States combined. The negro population of Boston was only 13,564, out of a total of 670,585.

VIII.

NEGRO FACES SELF EXTINCTION

Twenty years ago, much was being written about the possible large increase in the negro population. It was predicted that it would not be long before the entire South would be half negroes. Statistics and investigations now indicate that these predictions will not be true.

Some of the negroes have migrated to the North, there to loiter on the ragged edge of industry.

The South is rapidly gaining desirable white population from the North who aid in increasing its wealth and developing its great natural resources. Many thousands from the North who received their military training in Southern camps and have seen the natural resources in the South are coming back. The South as a whole welcomes these migrations from the North and is satisfied; the North will have to be.

One of the most far-reaching effects of the Great War is the marriages between Northern men and Southern women, resulting from acquaintances made during the stay of Northern soldiers in Southern military camps.

Much has been said about the migration of the negro to the North within the past few years. If the tendencies for race reduction by high mortality and low birth rate is continued, as it was indicated by the 1910 Census, this migration will have a marked influence in decreasing the negro population of the United States.

From 1890 to 1900, the negro population of Kentucky decreased, and as stated, from 1900 to 1910 the negro population of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri also showed an actual decrease. This decrease was in the total population. Whereas in Tennessee, the number of males over twenty-one years of age, showed an actual increase, there was a decrease in the total. This

fact is evidence that the decrease is to be found in a reduction in the size of the negro family.

Between 1900 and 1910, the white population increased more rapidly than the negro in each of the Southern States, where negroes are most numerous. Migration of whites to the South and of negroes to the North accounts, in part, for this difference.

High negro mortality, both adult and infant, and low birth rate among the negroes is perhaps the principal factor in accounting for this difference. In the South the only States where the negroes increased faster than the whites were Arkansas, Oklahoma and West Virginia. These increases can be accounted for by migration from other States.

There is a general impression that negroes have large families. The 1910 Census exploded that theory. This Census disclosed that, as compared with the previous Census there was a decrease in all the Southern States of negroes under five years of age. Various explanations have been given for this decrease, few of which are correct. The real reason is low birth rate and high infant mortality.

The reasons for this condition are economic, sociological, disease, hygienic, and migration. The negro race affords a great field for research by the biologist.

Miscegenation between whites and negroes has practically ceased. The younger negroes of school age show this.

Whether the intermarrying between the mulattoes and the blacks is affecting the birth rate of negroes is a question submitted to the biologist. To him is committed the statement of the Supreme Court of Missouri in the case of *State v. Jackson*, Vol. 80, Mo. p. 175; Vol. 50, Am. Rep. p. 499, which was as follows:

"It is stated as a well authenticated fact that if the issue of a black man and a white woman, and a white man and a black woman intermarry, they cannot possibly have any progeny."

Unquestionably, disease, sociological, and economic conditions are greatly affecting the negro birth rate.

Investigation discloses that in the territory within a hundred miles of Memphis, that is, in East Arkansas, West Tennessee, and North Mississippi, in which a large percentage of the population is negroes—part of the Black Belt of the Mississippi Valley—that there are few negro children, except in the hill counties of Mississippi. In 1910 the City of Memphis, having a total population of 131,105, 40 per cent. of which were negroes, the average number of persons per white family was 4.5, and the average number of persons per family among the negroes was only 3.5.

In 1860 the number of negroes in Tennessee under five years of age was 17 per cent. Fifty years later, in 1910, the number under five years of age in Tennessee was 11.5 per cent., while the whites were 14.2 per cent.

In 1910 of the total urban negro population of the United States, 8.5 per cent. was under five years of age, while the urban native white population under five years of age was 11.5 per cent. The negro population was 27.4 per cent. urban, the white population was 27.2 per cent. urban, and the rural population only 18.5 per cent. mulatto.

In Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, Southern cities having a total population of more than 100,000, the average number of negroes under five years of age, in 1910, was 11.5 per cent. of the total negro population. In all Northern cities having a population of more than 10,000, the average number of negroes under five years of age was 11.5 per cent.

In 1910 there were 39 cities of 25,000 or more population which reported in that year a negro population of 10,000 or more. In each of these 39 cities, without exception, the percentage of negro children was lower in the negro than in the white population.

There were 57 cities in which regular death statistics were available in 1910, and in each of these cities the negro death rate exceeded the white death rate.

As it takes an average of not less than four sons per family to perpetuate a race, the fact would indicate that when the negro leads an agricultural life as a race, he cannot maintain the conditions under which negroes live in the South, not conducive to adult longevity, and summed in the white heat of industrialism.

So that what was once predicted, that the negro would outnumber the whites in the South in a few years, is absolutely without foundation for the present time. For the South is losing population by migration, high death rate and low birth rate is gaining whites to such an extent that the proportion between the negro and white population is increasing in favor of the whites. The negro is not increasing to its normal increase in the Southern States, a condition which is greater than the negro is gaining whites by migration.

The acuteness of the negro problem has been passed from the South.

IX.

NEGRO ALWAYS LOYAL, ENTITLED TO LEGAL PROTECTION

There are many groups of people in the South who have never attained a position with conditions that are near the equal to the Afro-American.

said about the negro with a desire to 'a man with a man's rights.' By what shall he be measured? By the standard of the Japanese, by the standard of the Russian, by the standard of the Spaniard, by the standard of the Anglo-Saxon in England and or by the standard of the negro in his country of Africa.

able is, the Anglo-Saxon has set one of its standards for man yet evolved in all and the negroes are a race that has never any standard, except that developed under Anglo-Saxon tutelage. Still representatives insist that the Anglo-Saxon standard is the standard to which the Africo-American has attained a few years.

Africo-American as a race has accomplished so short a time that which it is claimed it would prove that the black man in elopement is superior to the white man. Claim of racial superiority has never been

tation for "Recognition" and to be "a man with a man's rights" comes principally from the white man. He is not to be blamed. Those who make claims are made should not be misled. Regarding the political status of the negro be borne in mind that all the virtues and accomplishments, and also the misdeeds, of the white race are ascribed to the negro race. The agitation of the mulatto that causes the white man to fail in so many instances to reveal recognition of the sterling qualities of the negro and of a real man that commands respect and confidence regardless of

color, many who are classed as mulattoes contain a strain of European blood. Bancroft in his edition 1840, says many of the negroes in America were of a "tawny yellow" color. The descendants of these people are not classed as mulattoes, which term is generally understood to be a person who is partially white and black blood.

No question about the faithfulness or loyalty of the negro. From the time that he repulsed trained Hessians in the Revolution to the days when he fought for the principles of civilization in France, he has shown loyalty and patriotism. In the battle of the Hun he fought to protect his own fireside and it was his privilege to aid his kindred race in Africa from the clutches of the Hun.

It was the activity in the past of Northern whites on behalf of the negroes against the whites, it was believed by the Germans could stir up strife in the South among

the negroes during the world war. They operated principally among the rural negroes of the South and there made no headway whatever. The fidelity of the millions of negroes to their white neighbors is an everlasting tribute to the negro and white races of the South; and, is a rebuke to those who for half a century have been active agents of discord in the South. One of the greatest mistakes of Northern theorists in considering the negro is the belief that he is simple and easily fooled.

The great mass of more than the 8,000,000 negroes in the South have prospered, and are law-abiding: and they know that they are secure in their life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness among the Southern whites.

The seeds of Bolshevism may fall on fertile soil in the North but Bolshevism in the South, whether it comes from Europe or from Northern theorists, falls on stony ground, whether scattered among the great mass of negroes or among the whites.

By whatever standard he lives or is measured the negro is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He is entitled to life most certainly in that he should not be lynched. Lynching is a crime against both the white and the black races. It wrongs the black and debases the white man.

In the pursuit of happiness and the exercise of his liberty he has remained and will continue to reside among the Anglo-Saxon people of the South, from whom he has acquired a language, education, and property and has learned well, in spite of outside interference, the principle of loyalty to his fellowman.

There is then, a solemn duty and there is a fixed responsibility resting on the representatives of both races in the South, individually and collectively, to create a public opinion that will eradicate the evil of lynching and create better living conditions for both races. As the South is economically half white and half black, both races must recognize that there are reciprocal obligations resting on both races.

It is the actual living sentiment of the masses that must largely determine the relations of the white and negro races in the South.

X.

FUTURE PROGRESS OF AFRICO-AMERICAN INSEPARABLE FROM THAT OF SOUTHERN ANGLO-AMERICAN

Outside of the South there was no State in 1910 in which the percentage of negroes was as high as 5, the highest percentage being that for Missouri, 4.8. New Jersey ranked next in this respect with a percentage of 3.5, followed by Kansas with a percentage of 3.2. There were only three other

Northern States—Pennsylvania, 3.4 per cent.; Ohio, 3.1 per cent., and Indiana 4.2 per cent., in which the proportion of the negroes exceeded 2 per cent. In 18 of the 32 Northern and Western States, the number of negroes did not constitute as much as 1 per cent. of the total population, while in four States—New Hampshire, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota—the proportion was only one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In 1910 the center of negro population was located 5.4 miles southeast of Fort Wayne, DeKalb County, in the northeast corner of Alabama, near the Tennessee River. It has been within less than 40 miles of this point since 1880, and there is no reason to believe that the center will be north of the Tennessee River in 1920.

Notwithstanding all the influences that have been brought to bear to cause the negro to be unfaithful and disloyal to the people among whom he lives in the South, it is to his everlasting credit, individually and as a race, that the seeds of discord have had no effect, except in exceedingly rare and isolated cases.

When we consider the attempts that have been made for fifty years to bring about dissatisfaction among negroes and consider that the Census Reports show as a result thereof only a small percentage have migrated from the South, it may be stated, absolutely, that the economic, industrial, agricultural and governmental future welfare of the negro is bound up inseparably with the Anglo-Saxon people of the South.

The Southern born whites are more migratory than the negroes.

The government investigation on negro migration from the South in 1916-17 places the estimate at between 200,000 and 500,000.

In 1910 there were more than one million negroes in each of the States of Georgia and Mississippi. The more than two million negroes in these two States together with the negro population of Alabama and South Carolina, four million, constituted 40 per cent. of the total negro population of the United States.

In the four states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, having a total population in 1910 of 8,000,000—4,000,000, 50 per cent.—of which were negroes, was produced in 1918, 47 per cent. of all the cotton produced in the United States, and one-third of all the cotton produced in the world.

If it should be announced that the white people of these four states would withdraw from the leadership of affairs in these states and turn the leadership over to negroes, before the sun went down on that day, there would be a financial panic as great as ever occurred in modern times.

Although the Anglo-Saxons are responsible for the maintenance of stable government in the South, these states, yet there are gimlet men among these people who seriously contend that the government should be turned over to the negro. That, through all the ages, has never or maintained a stable and responsible government such as would develop, maintain and protect the people in their local affairs, business relations with other parts of the world.

However much the Anglo-Saxon people of the South may be interested in its own development, in its own education, in its own progress, in its own uplift, the negro is as much if not more vitally concerned, in the development and progress of these Anglo-Saxon people as the Anglo-Saxon people themselves. The negro will ever progress the negro race has made progress under the tutelage of this Anglo-Saxon people. It will continue to be true as to the negro race.

There are people from Continental Europe in this country who have come here for the purpose of destroying this orderly government.

It is the Anglo-Saxon of the South who must look for guidance and protection from these organized forces of destruction.

Real negro representatives of the race are realizing this. The negro is interested in that the dominant race be the negro. The negro people possible, for it is through the negro that the masses progress. The economic advance of the Southern American and the more intelligent they become, the greater will be the opportunities for the masses.

So that the negro as a race, whether it acquiesce or not, is interested in seeing the shackles, that the fears, that the prejudices, that make for the continued solid political South be removed. If the negro of government in the future are to have the benefit and intelligent consideration thereon with a breadth of view by the negro, the racial attitude of the Anglo-Saxon of the South must be conceded.

If the Southern whites are and shall be determined in deciding questions of transportation, telephone and telegraph and other vital governmental policies that affect the industrial development and the welfare of the Nation, and questions of reconstruction of the whole National

*Since this was written in February, 1919, a hundred aliens were deported in January, 1920. Other people would suffer more from such treatment than the negro.

assion must be minimized. When this nation takes form, and action is taken rest of the Southern white man, wheresides, the negro will benefit thereby.

appears to be a tendency on the part of representatives in Congress to commit ratic Party to Socialistic doctrines that

origin in the minds of races coming mental Europe. This is being done for se of political expediency. With the votes already in a bag, the Democrats g out the hand and catching the drift d so that they will be able to control al government.

ocrats preach the doctrine of states' re the elections and after the elections it to commit this Nation to the extreme f Socialism at home and International.

ocratic party appears to be listening e of the foreign born enemies of this t in America and in Europe.

ightly world struggle the voice of Con- urope is trying to become the master nérica.

t time for the Republican party, re- what has been the policy, or what has in the past, to give some consideration uestions? How long will the Republi- her parts of the Nation fail to recog- continuation of the policies that made le may lead to disaster, from which it able to recover?

time for the Republican party to wind imposed guardianship of the negro?

e the Anglo-Saxon of the South that cohesion and try to build a political of the Africo-American that has little sion, is to continue the Bourbon spirit orgetting anything and never learning ew.

a question that concerns every man ithin him the spirit of a forward-look- , and the interest and general welfare tion from every standpoint at heart. party political expediency result in the of Anglo-Saxon fundamentals in gov-

XI.

REPRESENTATION IN REPUBLICAN NA- TIONS NOW MORE FAVOR- UNNATURALIZED FOREIGN BORN S THAN TO THE NATIVE WHITES E NEGROES OF THE SOUTH.

otal population of the 8 cities in the tes having more than 500,000 popula-) only 25.6 per cent. of the total popula- native whites of native parents—37.2

per cent. being native whites of mixed parentage and 36.6 per cent. foreign born whites.

In 1910, there were 50 cities having more than 100,000 population; and, in only 14 of these 50 cities did native whites of native parents constitute as much as one-half of the total population. The proportion exceeded three-fifths in only four cities.

There were 179 cities having from 25,000 to 100,000 population in 1910 and among these 179 cities there were only 41 cities in which the native whites of native parents exceeded three-fifths of the total population. None of these cities were in the New England States and only one in New York.

Much is written and said about misgovernment in American cities. With only 14 of the 50 cities having a population of more than 100,000, with one-half of the population native whites of native parentage; and, only 41 of the 179 cities having a population between 25,000 and 100,000, in which the native whites of native parents exceeded three-fifths of the total population, **IT WOULD BE MORE ACCURATE TO REFER TO THE CONDITION AS THE MISGOVERNMENT OF THE FOREIGN CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.**

The total population of the 8 cities that had more than 500,000 population in 1910 was 11,511,841. These cities were Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. The total negro population of these 8 cities was 396,615—less than 4 per cent. of the total population. The total population of the seven cities in the South having a population of more than 100,000 in 1910, viz., Atlanta, Birmingham, Louisville, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans and Richmond, was 1,219,624 of which 369,688—30 per cent.—were negroes.

The total foreign born population of the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia was 3,091,498 in 1910. Based on the usual ratio, more than 2,000,000 of this foreign born population were not naturalized in 1910. That is, the unnaturalized foreign born population of these three cities was more than the total population of the state of Tennessee—2,184,789.

As representation in Congress and in the Electoral College is apportioned among the several states and is based on residence and not citizenship, then the unnaturalized foreign born people that resided in the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia have more representation in Congress and the Electoral College than does all of the people of the State of Tennessee.

As the proportionment of delegates to the Republican Convention is based on representation in Congress, then the unnaturalized foreign born people in these 3 cities have more delegates in the

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE.

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1910 AND

CITY.	Total population: 1910	NATIVE WHITE.				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE.		NEGRO.		Indian, Chinese, Japa- nese, and all other: 1910	PER CENT OF TOTAL POP 1910		
		Native parentage.		Foreign or mixed parentage.		1910	1900	1910	1900		Native white.		For- eign- born white
		1910	1900	1910	1900						Native parent- age.	For. or mixed par.	
Albany, N. Y.	100,253	44,473	38,431	36,533	36,842	18,165	17,689	1,037	1,178	45	44.4	36.4	18.2
Atlanta, Ga.	154,839	91,987	47,146	6,464	4,486	4,410	2,458	51,902	35,727	76	59.4	4.2	2.8
Baltimore, Md.	558,485	261,474	236,053	134,870	125,225	77,043	67,940	84,749	79,258	349	46.8	24.1	13.8
Birmingham, Ala.	132,685	66,312	17,188	8,357	2,885	5,700	1,761	52,305	16,575	11	50.0	6.3	4.3
Boston, Mass.	670,585	157,870	146,193	257,104	206,937	240,722	194,953	13,564	11,591	1,325	23.5	38.3	35.6
Bridgeport, Conn.	102,054	27,156	21,885	37,314	25,693	36,180	22,197	1,332	1,149	72	26.6	36.6	35.5
Buffalo, N. Y.	423,715	119,692	90,860	183,673	155,716	118,444	104,010	1,773	1,698	133	26.2	43.3	28.0
Cambridge, Mass.	104,839	25,615	25,220	39,794	32,731	34,608	29,924	4,707	3,888	115	24.4	38.0	33.6
Chicago, Ill.	2,185,283	445,139	354,379	912,701	727,341	781,217	585,420	44,103	30,150	2,123	20.4	41.8	35.7
Cincinnati, Ohio	363,591	154,937	113,700	132,190	139,817	56,792	67,887	19,689	14,482	33	42.6	36.4	15.6
Cleveland, Ohio.	560,663	132,314	87,740	223,908	163,570	195,703	124,354	8,448	5,988	290	23.6	39.9	34.9
Columbus, Ohio	181,511	116,846	75,036	35,578	30,007	16,285	12,292	12,739	8,201	63	64.4	19.6	9.0
Dayton, Ohio.	116,577	72,301	48,332	25,559	23,567	13,847	10,024	4,842	3,387	28	62.0	21.9	11.9
Denver, Colo.	213,381	106,945	66,810	61,185	37,837	38,941	24,962	5,426	3,923	884	50.1	28.7	18.2
Detroit, Mich.	465,766	115,106	61,309	188,255	124,215	156,565	96,051	5,741	4,111	99	24.7	40.4	33.6
Fall River, Mass.	119,295	15,858	14,300	52,125	40,197	50,874	49,961	355	324	83	13.3	43.7	42.6
Grand Rapids, Mich.	112,571	40,777	29,634	42,767	33,460	28,335	23,858	665	604	27	36.2	38.0	25.2
Indianapolis, Ind.	233,650	150,593	97,772	41,420	38,359	19,767	17,070	21,816	15,931	54	64.5	17.7	8.5
Jersey City, N. J.	267,779	74,861	57,197	109,101	87,152	77,697	58,161	5,960	3,704	180	28.0	40.7	29.0
Kansas City, Mo.	248,381	153,717	94,377	45,633	33,426	26,327	18,287	23,566	17,567	138	61.9	18.4	10.2
Los Angeles, Cal.	319,198	169,967	54,060	74,756	26,105	60,584	17,917	7,599	2,131	6,292	53.2	23.4	19.0
Louisville, Ky.	223,928	113,543	88,449	52,411	55,744	17,436	21,397	40,522	39,139	16	60.7	23.4	7.8
Lowell, Mass.	106,294	20,703	20,828	41,942	33,031	43,457	40,915	1,133	1,336	59	19.5	39.5	40.9
Memphis, Tenn.	131,105	59,985	36,556	12,138	10,755	6,467	5,069	52,441	49,910	74	45.8	9.3	4.9
Milwaukee, Wis.	373,857	78,823	48,598	182,530	146,885	111,466	88,948	980	862	68	21.1	48.8	29.8
Minneapolis, Minn.	301,408	96,186	61,269	116,548	78,861	85,938	60,963	2,592	1,548	144	31.9	38.7	28.5
Nashville, Tenn.	110,364	63,687	40,620	7,151	7,174	2,993	3,002	36,523	30,044	10	57.7	6.5	2.7
New Haven, Conn.	133,605	37,726	36,385	49,434	37,999	42,784	30,654	3,561	2,887	100	28.2	37.0	32.0
New Orleans, La.	339,075	147,473	103,186	74,244	76,191	27,686	29,569	89,262	77,714	410	43.5	21.9	8.2
New York, N. Y.	4,766,883	921,318	737,477	1,820,141	1,371,503	1,927,703	1,260,918	91,709	60,666	6,012	19.3	38.2	40.4
Manhattan Borough	2,331,548	544,351	518,307	818,808	715,947	1,104,019	782,714	60,534	36,248	4,430	14.8	36.1	47.4
Bronx Borough	480,980	92,569	80,233	185,146	86,148	148,935	61,258	4,117	2,370	213	21.5	48.0	34.8
Brooklyn Borough	1,634,351	375,548	310,601	663,583	488,648	671,356	353,750	22,708	18,367	1,166	23.0	40.6	36.0
Queens Borough	284,041	80,607	41,658	180,969	69,862	79,115	44,615	3,198	2,611	162	28.4	48.6	27.9
Richmond Borough	86,999	28,243	22,778	32,256	24,804	24,278	18,581	1,162	1,072	61	39.9	37.5	28.9
Newark, N. J.	347,469	94,737	71,552	132,350	96,506	110,655	71,050	9,475	6,694	252	27.3	38.1	31.8
Oakland, Cal.	160,174	45,198	24,790	49,936	32,775	36,822	16,223	3,055	1,026	5,163	36.8	33.3	24.5
Omaha, Nebr.	124,096	52,917	42,752	39,595	32,828	27,068	23,429	4,426	3,443	90	42.6	31.9	21.8
Patterson, N. J.	126,600	28,392	23,897	50,179	41,296	45,398	38,666	1,539	1,182	92	22.6	40.0	36.1
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,549,008	584,006	521,911	496,785	414,093	382,578	293,669	84,459	62,613	1,178	37.7	32.1	24.7
Pittsburgh, Pa.	533,905	176,089	147,296	191,483	168,832	140,436	114,845	25,623	20,355	274	33.0	35.9	26.3
Portland, Ore.	207,214	104,163	38,170	51,009	24,710	43,780	17,734	1,045	775	7,217	50.3	24.6	21.1
Providence, R. I.	224,326	59,986	54,423	82,354	60,775	76,303	55,310	5,316	4,817	387	26.7	36.7	34.0
Richmond, Va.	127,628	69,130	43,860	7,664	6,104	4,085	2,834	46,733	32,230	16	54.2	6.0	3.2
Rochester, N. Y.	218,149	74,525	52,478	83,687	68,798	58,993	40,718	879	601	65	34.2	38.4	27.0
St. Louis, Mo.	687,029	269,836	189,249	246,946	239,170	125,706	110,966	43,960	35,516	581	39.3	35.9	18.3
St. Paul, Minn.	214,744	61,594	42,454	93,398	71,562	56,524	46,748	3,144	2,263	84	28.7	43.5	26.3
San Francisco, Cal.	416,912	115,359	83,558	153,781	137,556	130,874	104,264	1,642	1,654	15,256	27.7	36.9	31.4
Scranton, Pa.	129,867	38,745	27,299	55,431	45,229	55,112	28,959	567	521	12	29.8	42.7	27.0
Seattle, Wash.	237,194	105,784	38,810	61,134	19,349	60,835	18,656	2,296	406	7,145	44.6	25.8	25.6
Spokane, Wash.	104,402	54,574	18,756	27,277	9,883	21,220	7,462	723	376	608	52.3	26.1	20.3
Syracuse, N. Y.	137,249	58,408	43,817	46,912	39,787	30,781	23,705	1,124	1,034	24	42.6	34.2	22.4
Toledo, Ohio.	168,497	75,147	52,222	59,383	50,128	32,037	27,729	1,877	1,710	53	44.6	35.2	19.0
Washington, D. C.	331,069	166,711	134,073	45,066	37,939	24,351	19,520	94,446	86,702	495	50.4	13.6	7.4
Worcester, Mass.	145,986	41,421	37,261	54,751	42,417	48,492	37,528	1,241	1,104	81	28.4	37.5	33.2

¹ Includes population of Allegheny for 1900.

Republican Conventions than has all of the people of the state of Tennessee.

In some states such as Indiana, a person who has lived in the state twelve months, in the county six months and has declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States, even though the application for citizenship may subsequently be denied by the court, such a person is entitled under the law to vote.

In 1910, the total foreign born population of the United States was 13,345,545; and those persons having both parents foreign born in 1910 was 12,016,311, a total of 26,261,856.

Be it always remembered, that while the majority of the foreign born and those of and mixed parentage were loyal to this country during the World War there were those who were disloyal; and, there were thousands who relied on the fact that they were alien claimed military exemption, while real Americans went to Europe to fight for this country. And disloyal or loyal the unnaturalized foreigners are the basis for apportioning of representation as well as naturalized citizens and native and black citizens of native parentage.

APPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION. Ratios under Constitution and at each Census, 1790 to 1910, by States

Constitution.	RATIOS UNDER CONSTITUTION AND CENSUSES														
	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910		
30,000.	33,000.	33,000.	35,000.	40,000.	47,700.	70,680.	93,423.	127,381.	131,425.	151,911.	171,901.	194,182.	211,877.		
Representation.															
.....			1	3	5	7	7	6	8	8	9	9	10		
.....					1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
.....					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
.....	5	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5		
.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
.....	3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	9	10	11	12		
.....			1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
.....			1	3	4	7	10	11	14	13	13	13	13		
.....						2	2	6	9	11	11	11	11		
.....								1	3	7	6	8	8		
.....		2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11	11	11		
.....			1	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6		
.....	6	8	9	9	9	8	6	5	6	6	6	6	6		
.....	8	14	17	13	13	12	10	11	10	11	12	13	14		
.....						1	3	4	6	9	11	12	13		
.....				1	1	2	4	5	6	7	7	8	8		
.....									13	14	15	16	16		
.....										1	1	1	2		
.....								1	1	3	6	6	6		
.....	3	4	5	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5		
.....	4	5	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7	8	10	12		
.....	6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34	34	37		
.....	5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9	9	10		
.....			1	6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21	21	22		
.....	8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28	30	32		
.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3		
.....	5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7	7	7		
.....			1	3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10	10		
.....							2	2	4	6	11	13	16		
.....											1	1	1		
.....		2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2		
.....	10	19	22	23	22	21	15	13	11	9	10	10	10		
.....											1	2	3		
.....											4	5	6		
.....						2	3	6	8	9	10	11	11		
.....											1	1	1		
65	106	142	186	213	242	232	237	243	293	332	357	386	435		

ALIEN CITIZENS PROBLEM

Tenth of American Population Is Unnaturalized.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—Approximately one-tenth of the population of the United States is composed of unnaturalized aliens, according to Raymond F. Crist, deputy commissioner of naturalization, who declared today that such a condition would not be permitted by any other country, and appealed to American citizens to help in making citizens of alien residents. He said there were 10,500,000 persons in this country who still retain their allegiance to the land of their birth.

"There are now 17,500,000 aliens in this country, yet barely 6,000,000 have become citizens," Mr. Crist said. "Such a tremendous unassimilated mass means danger, for among these millions comparatively few have any idea of or interest in the American institutions."

"It is our duty and our necessity to convert this multitude into loyal American citizens. By gathering in their own quarters in large industrial centers, they furnish a fertile ground for all sorts of propaganda opposed to American institutions."

"The war revealed that while the great majority of Germans in this country were loyal, there were, nevertheless, far too many German aliens who felt only hatred for the country that has so generously received them. It is time now to act to prevent any recurrence of this experience."—The Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 13, 1919.

foreign born unnaturalized population in the United States is greater than the total population of the new Republic of Austria; is equal to more than two-thirds of the population of Mexico; and is more than one-third greater than the total population of Canada.

Under the apportionment based on the 1920 census the foreign born unnaturalized residents of the States will be counted in apportioning the representation in Congress.

Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 2, provided that "Representatives and direct Taxes shall all be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Under the 14th amendment the words "three-fifths of all other persons" were stricken out.

The number of Indians not taxed in 1910 was 71,872.

A QUESTION THAT CONCERNS EVERY CITIZEN OF AMERICA IS HOW MANY OF THE UNNATURALIZED RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS?

Based on the usual proportion, of the thirteen and one-third million foreign born people in the United States, there were more than nine million unnaturalized foreign born people in the United States in 1910.

The foreign born unnaturalized population in the United States is greater than the total population of the new republic of Austria; it is equal to more than two-thirds of the population of Mexico; and, is more than one-third greater than the total population of Canada.

Under the apportionment based on the 1920 census, the foreign born unnaturalized residents of the United States will be counted in apportioning the representation in Congress.

As representation in Congress and in the Electoral College is based on residence and not citizenship, these 9,000,000 people are represented in Congress and in the Electoral College. And as representation in the Republican Conventions is based on representation in Congress, then these 9,000,000 unnaturalized residents of the United States are represented in Conventions. Many thousands of these people are trying to destroy this government.

None of the Congressional Districts in which these foreign born unnaturalized people live have less than one delegate in Republican National Conventions, except one in Massachusetts and two in New York; while there are eighty-five Congressional districts in the South that will have only one delegate in the Republican National Convention that meets in Chicago in June, 1920.

There were then in 1910, at least as many, if not more, unnaturalized foreign born people in the United States than was the total negro population.

XII.

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS BASED ON NEGROES IN THE SOUTH IS A PARTIAL CHECK AGAINST REPRESENTATION BASED ON UNNATURALIZED FOREIGN BORN RESIDENTS IN THE NORTH.

When the negroes were enfranchised and they were then counted in full in fixing representation in Congress and in the Electoral College this was in a measure a check and balance against the excessive representation in the North based on people who are not citizens of the United States.

Many of those who have become naturalized are Americans in name and legal formality only. These have believed they could more effectually

work to destroy the Government by citizens.

There are those who have much to the South because of its representation in Congress and the Electoral College which connection with the small vote cast.

To those it can be said that the people of the South, whites and negroes, are citizens of the United States; the Congress of the United States is not being asked to appropriate money from them the English language or to educate them, and there is no organization in the South with widespread ramifications having for its purpose the destruction of our institutions and civilization.

While as to the North there is more representation in Congress, and in the Electoral College based on foreign born persons who are citizens of the United States than the population in the United States; or, whites and negroes in the South who have the suffrage qualifications of Southern States.

And, when the next congressional apportionment is made, based on the census of 1920, there will be representation in Congress by several thousand persons, who were here at the time the census was taken in January, 1910, have since been deported, if the government has done its full duty, because they have been guilty of trying to destroy this government. There are none of these from the South.

A recent special investigation by the Department of Justice showed that there were many in Tennessee.

Prior to the Republican National Convention of 1916, the Republican National Committee ruled that if the vote for President or for a Republican candidate for Congress did not exceed 7,500 at an election during four years, the convention then there should be held in that district. The convention of 1916 was governed by this rule.

Under the rule there are four of these districts in Tennessee that have only one delegate. Three of these districts have a population of 185,345, of which 117,286 are whites and 68,059 are negroes. The vote for Hughes in 1916 in these three districts was as follows: 117,286 and 4,667, respectively.

Under this rule the representation of the Southern States in the 1920 Republican National Convention is reduced 85 votes. The representation of these States is as follows: Alabama 5, Florida 4, Georgia 11, Louisiana 5, Mississippi 8, North Carolina 2, South Carolina 4, Tennessee 4, Texas 17, Virginia 9.

The reduction in the 1916 Convention

no reduction in representation in the from any of the other states except Massachusetts and 2 from New York. as made by the National Committee 12 convention in which negro dele- 'used' to defeat the will of a major-epublican voters in the nation.

has only been effective in one conven- nvention of 1916.

gressional district in the South should elegates to the Republican National to be held in Chicago in June, 1920, insist on full voting privileges with congressional district in the United

ngressional Districts that select but e and one alternate delegate to the ican National Convention, the alter- e should be given full voting privi- e delegate. This unequal representa- not be countenanced.

ization that controls the Republican l not be permitted to derive advan- its misguided policies toward the t certainly it should not have this o long as the basis of representation arge number of delegates in the con- ased on unnaturalized foreign born

ittee did not reduce the representa- icts where representation was based ized foreign born population. The id not disturb the representation in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

gn born unnaturalized population of ities is greater than the total popula- essee. Yet the Republican National as seen fit to maintain a policy in ennessee, and the entire South, and ce; and, to make a rule, the making s brought about by the maintenance hat in practical operation reduces the the national convention of the state : to less than that of the unnatural- born population in these three cities.

observed that the total reduction in m the states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina is 36. Only one Con- istrict in these four states is entitled n one delegate—the Ninth Congres- ct of Georgia. This district is in ia where there are comparatively few

lation of these four states is eight r million, 50 per cent.—of which are is is 40 per cent. of the total negro a the United States.

None of the Congressional districts in Florida, Louisiana or Texas are entitled to more than one delegate to the 1920 Republican National Conven- tion except the 14th district in Texas.

In 1910, the total number of negroes of voting age in the 11 counties comprising the 14th Con- gressional district of Texas was 5,278; of these 2,917 lived in the city of San Antonio, in Bexar county, and constituted only 10.4 per cent. of the total potential voters of San Antonio.

In 1910, the total number of negroes of voting age in the 19 counties comprising the 9th Con- gressional district of Georgia was 7,276; 4,324 of which lived in the three counties of Barton, Gwinnett, and Jackson.

These are the only two districts in Texas and in Georgia that have more than one delegate from any Congressional district to the 1920 Republi- can National Convention.

There is only one delegate from each district in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina.

In North Carolina, each Congressional district has two delegates except the 1st and 2nd dis- tricts. The 1st district is composed of 8 counties and in 1910 had 19,009 negroes of voting age. The 2nd district is composed of 14 counties and in 1910 had 23,331 negroes of voting age.

The total number of negroes of voting age in North Carolina in 1910 was 146,752; and, the total number of negroes in the 1st and 2nd Congres- sional districts, each entitled to only one dele- gate, was 42,340.

There are 98 counties in North Carolina and from these figures it will be seen that nearly one- third of all the negroes in the state lived in these 22 counties; and, that the 1st and 2nd Congres- sional districts are the only districts in North Carolina that are entitled to only one delegate to the Republican National Convention.

The comparison between these two congres- sional districts in North Carolina entitled to only one delegate and the only congressional districts in Texas and in Georgia in these states that are entitled to two delegates to the Republican Na- tional Convention is most significant, and should be convincing.

NOT ONE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DIS- TRICTS, IN WHICH ARE SITUATED THE SEVEN CITIES OF THE SOUTH HAVING MORE THAN 100,000 POPULATION, IS EN- TITLED TO MORE THAN ONE DELEGATE TO THE 1920 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVEN- TION. ALL THESE CITIES HAVE MORE THAN 33 PER CENT. NEGROES. EXCEPT NEW ORLEANS, 26.3 PER CENT., AND LOUIS- VILLE, 18.1 PER CENT.

Under the rules for holding the National convention, each state is entitled to 2 delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large in Congress from any state so that if the representatives in Congress from these states were elected as representatives-at-large instead of by Congressional districts under the rules for holding a convention, these states would be entitled to twice as many delegates as they are now entitled to, except in one district in Georgia and one in Texas.

Representation in Republican National Conventions is therefore denied the negro and the white citizens in the South on an equal basis with the other people of the nation. There are about the same number of persons in the North used as a basis of apportioning representation who are not citizens of the United States as are denied equal representation in the South.

This is a double injustice to the South.

XIII.

DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT

The election and re-election of Victor Berger as a member of Congress from the fifth district in Wisconsin is an index to the mental attitude of groups of people in this nation toward Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The fifth Wisconsin district comprises nearly all of the territory embraced in the corporate limits of the city of Milwaukee.

In 1910, out of the total population of 373 of Milwaukee, there were only 78,823 of this population native whites of native parentage, that is, only 21.10 per cent. of the total population of Milwaukee was native whites of native parentage. Only 32.9 per cent. of the population of the state of Wisconsin was native white of native parentage in 1910. These facts should challenge the serious thought of all people in this Republic.

If the issue there made is permitted to follow its natural course, the institutions of Continental Europe as proposed by the Socialist and other parties, will cause Anglo-Saxon institutions and Anglo-Saxon individual liberty to disappear in this nation.

Current literature discloses that the Socialist, Communist, I. W. W., Reds, and other movements, are names applied to the organizations that have for their objects the destruction of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

A direct challenge is made, and the people of this Republic, regardless of their prejudices and differences in the past, should unite on a common ground to combat these insidious and destructive influences.

Those who seek to destroy this government advance plausible economic theories which appeal to the criminal, ignorant and thriftless, with a large and efficient bureau of publicity reaching all

classes of people, with our own government meeting these assaults upon institutions almost without protest and with effort to expose the movement and apply of the law to these criminal agitators, foresee what the immediate future in will bring forth.

The men and women who are back movement do not seek to better the condition class of the people here. Their object is to break down industry, throw off tive government and create a condition of disorder and disaster which will accrue to fit in their ambitious scheme of international political conquest.

One of the fundamental phases of A today is the struggle between Continental institutions and Anglo-Saxon

The theory of government and of institutions in Continental Europe is that the is subordinate to, and exists for the benefit of government or the institutions, while of life, and of Anglo-Saxon government Anglo-Saxon institutions is that the or the institutions exists for the individual.

We are to determine in America whether Saxon institutions and Anglo-Saxon liberty is to be replaced by Continental institutions coupled with a license for individual to live.

XIV.

WHITES OF THE SOUTH REGAL PARTY SHOULD SEE THAT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN THE SEVEN TWO VOTES IN REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

More Anglo-Saxon blood was shed white treasure wasted over the liberation negro during the four years of war than all the negro races have shed and the liberty of their own race, or any in all the ages of the world.

And, during the past fifty years much hatred has been engendered in America many partisan demagogues, North have risen to positions and places of issues based upon the negro race as length of time ever cursed a people since of history.

For the Anglo-Saxon groups of people nation to continue to quarrel about the to maintain a suspicion toward each of the great weaknesses of this Republic

A maintenance of a division among whites of native parents of this nation charred corpse of the Civil War encourages aid and comfort to those who have this country with a hatred for Anglo-

are seeking to destroy this Govern-

and the South are mutually dependent. The right arm cannot say to the left, "I have no need of thee."

As to all questions of controversy and policy, they have a common history full of vicissitudes, of successful endeavors in the development of enlightened popular government, which has been incalculably beneficial to human progress. Every section has been free from human bondage, and free from the errors and vices generated by ambition and passion.

It is to adjust the issues of the dead past, the struggle between the invading elements from Continental Europe and the old ideas and institutions upon which the Republic was built with a united front.

It is maintained by the white people of the South that the Republican party is bad for the South.

It reduces the representation of the South in the Republican National Conventions, in participating on an equality with the other parts of the country.

Only three districts, except the District of Columbia, in which a large percentage of the population is negro, have only one delegate in the Republican National Conventions.

The Republican party has assumed a self-interest in the degradation of the negro and then has a grievous wrong against its ward.

It is committed because it appeals especially to negroes for support and because the negro does not respond to the appeal; therefore, it reduces representation of both whites and negroes. The reduction is in favor of unnaturalized foreign born in the North to whom the negro is a person

in the light of history the attitude of the South and the whites in the South is not in favor of the negro race, in no age, has ever shown any interest in government, while the negro race in all the ages of its history has been degraded and developed a peculiar aptitude for

the Saxons of the South do the whole of the South an injustice in not polling the negroes (7,500) at least in every Congress in the South for a Republican candidate for Congress or for the Republican candidate for President to insure two delegates to the National Convention; and, then send them to the Republican National Convention, where they will be real representatives and not names only. Such reduction in representation should not be suffered to exist even in the South continues Democratic.

The Republican National Convention and the Democratic National Convention constitute the machinery through which the great body of the people select a candidate for President; and, whether a person be a Republican or a Democrat in the South, all the people of the South should have a voice on an equal basis with the other parts of the nation in selecting the candidate for President.

Negro political activity in the South is very largely confined to a small number in each community who seek "Recognition" through the Republican Party for the purpose of using the Republican Party as a means for personal exploitation. They are "Republicans for exploitation" and do not commend themselves to the confidence of their own race.

By their activity their own race as well as the whites in the South are now on an unequal basis with the people of the other parts of the nation in the Republican National Conventions.

By this reduction in representation the foreign born unnaturalized population of the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia alone has more representation than do all the negroes, to say nothing of the whites, in the states of Mississippi and Georgia. The total negro population of Mississippi and Georgia is over 2,000,000.

XV.

THE GRAND FINALE

As conditions now exist the great mass of the negroes by their own efforts do not get representation. Through the efforts of a few negroes in the South, operating in conjunction with Northern agitators, there is created a condition by which neither they nor the whites get equal representation in Republican national conventions with the other parts of the nation.

The practical way that negro political activity works out in Southern cities greatly aids the Democratic party.

Northern Republicans give "Recognition" to an enterprising Southern negro and this gives him additional local prestige with his own coterie. This group then gets active for the Republican Party and seeks "Recognition" in county and State Republican conventions and on committees.

They stir up their friends. Negro employees of Democratic employers take half holidays so that they can attend the Republican conventions "for the good of the party;" and "supe in the mob scene."

There is great Party activity and everything goes well until "voting day."

On election day the Democratic employe, knowing who furnishes his bread as well as his butter takes a whole day off, and votes "early and

often." The word goes down the line through the local Democratic police department to "Vote 'em or ride 'em," and the lawless and near lawless, valuing their liberty, and having no desire to withstand the pressure; in the pursuit of happiness line up "for the party."

The Democratic papers scream "negro domination." The whites who have sworn that they would never vote for another Democratic nominee go to the polls. The whites who are Republicans from principle say "What's the use?" and stay at home.

Although the inside negro coterie may vote for Republican candidates the great mass of law abiding negroes go about their daily affairs in the pursuit of happiness caring nothing about "Recognition" and less about the ballot.

In the grand finale the leading man stands forth in all his "Recognized" Republican splendor, surrounded by his satellites, with an Aurora Borealis background.

The leading man gets his "Recognition," his satellites get their shekels, the "supes" have the good will of their Democratic employers, the Republican Party gets the Odium, and the Democratic Party gets the votes.

Then, some Republican Congressman from Indianapolis or some other Northern city, introduces a bill in Congress for the benefit of his negro constituents in Bull and Buncombe counties to investigate Suffrage in the South.

WHITES OF WASHINGTON, D. C., DIS-FRANCHISED BY CONGRESS BECAUSE OF NEGROES.

In 1860, the population of the South was 10,000,000 of which 4,000,000 were negroes and 6,000,000 whites. Of the whites there were only about 350,000 slave holders.

September, 1919, was the tercentennial of the landing of the first negroes in the United States.

In September, 1619, a Dutch ship stopped at Jamestown, Va., and left 11 negro slaves who had been brought from the plantation of the Earl of Warwick on one of the Bermuda Islands. All of these negroes were later returned to this plantation.

The year of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the first negroes in the United States was marked by serious negro race riots in the cities of Chicago and Washington.

In 1910, the total population of the city of Washington was 331,069, of which 94,446 were negroes, that is, 28.5 per cent. of the total population of the city of Washington was negro. And, in 1910 there were more negroes living in the city of Washington than any other city or county in America.

After negroes were given the franchise in the United States in 1868, for several years the people of the District of Columbia under the political conditions and the corrupt affairs of the city of Washington became so demoralized that the franchise was taken away from the people of the District of Columbia and a military government was appointed to run the affairs of the City of the Nation. The commission consisted of three men appointed by the President: one a Democrat, one a Republican and one an Army Officer.

Washington, D. C., then, is the only city in free government and self government in all the world. All of the white people of the District of Columbia constituting three-fourths of the total population of the District are disfranchised because one-fourth of the population is negro and is incapable of self-government.

XVI.

MASS OF BLACKS WILL NOT RECOGNIZE MULATTOES

Those who derive much pleasure from and preconceived opinions about the act thereon, appear to be entirely ignorant of the people in the South who are negroes and act on a false basis of classification. The Census classifies negroes as blacks and whites.

The number classed as mulattoes in the general Census is valueless. There are at least two separate and distinct types of negroes: the mulattoes, who are persons having European blood, and the yellow, and the negroes. There are several types of black descendants of various black African tribes.

The yellow negroes are also pure African. They are the descendants of the African "Tawny Yellow Skin," as mentioned in the Bible. Many of the tribes in Africa have a "Tawny Yellow Skin."

Although negroes of a "Tawny Yellow Skin" are a type of pure African, are generally not included in the census as mulattoes; they are not in the proper application of that term.

The blacks constitute more than three-fourths of the negro population in the South.

Those who act on hearsay and popular opinions, in their political relations never proceed upon the theory that to give "Recognition" to a mulatto is giving recognition to the great masses of the negro. They appear not to know that the facts are that the negroes will not follow mulattoes, nor will the low blacks any more than will the white blacks.

The mass of blacks regard mulattoes as half-blooded, and being themselves a pure people they prefer the leadership of the whites and act accordingly.

1860, the mulatto was specifically in the statutes of Indiana and Tennessee states, as a person occupying a distinct position. The mulatto is as much a distinct person as he was sixty years ago.

It is not to be blamed for taking advantage of the ignorance of a misguided Northern

The same can be said of the black leaders in the Republican Party continue to give "Recognition" to a type of citizen, however unfortunate, that brings to the Republican strength from the great mass of negroes, but brings antagonism from the

people of the South may be oppressed; they may be misgoverned; the African nation may be mismanaged; they have that a Republican administration best for the country and for them from an economic standpoint, but they support a candidate, a ticket or a man no matter what it may promise, if it means that they must acknowledge the citizenship of a negro. This is not an exaggeration; it is just a plain statement of fact. Editorial Memphis News Scimitar, 2. 1920.

Republican leaders of the Republican Party in the South have tried by statute law, by party fiat, by personal acts to change the immutable laws of the human race. God Almighty has decreed in the great court of human relations that his decree cannot be modified, or set aside by the Republican Party.

REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH TRADED OFF FOR NEGRO VOTES IN THE NORTH

Obviously the reason certain Northern Republicans give "Recognition" to Southern negroes is the detriment of the Republican Party here is that in certain cities of the North, negroes who insist that this "Recognition" be given to certain negroes in the South; "Recognition" in the South is given to Northern negroes in line for the Republic there.

Possible Republican success in the South is offered by these Republican leaders in the local political advantage in certain cities.

That is, this recognition adds nothing to the strength of the Republican Party in the South; it is that it aids the Republican Party negroes in the Northern cities, just as it sometimes brought into municipal liquor Democrats in city elections in

When negroes ask for "Recognition" in the North they are told that "Recognition" is given by a majority vote. Northern negroes being in the minority to the Northern whites, of course, there is no "Recognition."

Then these Northern negroes seek "Recognition" for their Southern friends. And, when Southern negroes are given "Recognition" then possible Republican success in the South is thereby traded off for the support of negro voters and negro ward heelers in Northern cities.

When the Southern negro is thus given "Recognition" he naturally thinks he is "honored." The fact is, in the language of General Sherman, he is being "Used."

"Used" to aid the Republican Party with negro voters in Northern cities; "Used" to aid Northern Republican leaders to control the National organization; "Used" in such a way as to retard the growth of the Republican Party in the South; "Used" by negroes for personal exploitation; and, "Used" many times in the past to further policies that have been, and are now, detrimental to the negro race.

Flattered by the illusory words "free and equal," the negro has been the political slave and a victim of those who have "Used" him; and profited by the natural political weakness of the negro race.

There are Northern theorists and Republican leaders who write of the racial relations in the South that "There must be a compromise. Both parties in this controversy must yield. The Southern white must give up his prejudices and the negro his mistaken ideas."

And, in the next paragraph say of the negro "As a race he lacks the foundation today upon which to build a successful future. He lacked this when he became a man, not a chattel, and instead of beginning at the bottom and acquiring the primary training and laying the foundation, he sought after the superfluities and attempted the superstructure."

With this mental state, these persons go forth to build a political structure in the South, one part of which, as a race, has a political foundation that runs down through the vista of the ages of history, and that has developed the highest type of self government yet evolved by man.

And, for the other part of the structure they seriously attempt to build with, and weld into, as an integral part of this structure, a race that through all the ages has never exhibited any capacity for self government. They attempt to build with a race that admittedly has mistaken ideas, which mistaken political ideas are not the spawn of the Southern whites.

What else can be expected from such persons when they also write in the same thesis, "We

have not investigated the negro's antecedents."

To say that "The Southern white must give up his prejudices" shows that such writers are ignorant of the political history of the Anglo-Saxon and is equivalent to saying "We have not investigated the Southern Anglo-Saxon's antecedents." The Anglo-Saxon in no age and in no part of the world has yielded or compromised his political prejudices.

A suggestion that the Anglo-Saxon must yield and compromise shows that such writers and leaders are not familiar with the history of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Such writing exhibits a triple ignorance. Ignorance of the negro's antecedents; ignorance of the Southern Anglo-Saxon's antecedents; and, the logical sequence of this ignorance of the antecedents of either the Southern Anglo-Saxon or the negro, is that such Northern theorists and Republican leaders are ignorant of the bi-racial condition in the South.

Action based on such ignorance of this bi-racial condition is a living death to the Republican Party in the South.

When considered in connection with the millions of unnaturalized residents and hyphenated citizens of the North, this ignorance, born of prejudice and superfluities, is a malignant cancer in American politics.

XVII.

ADVANCE AND INFLUENCE OF SOUTHERN WHITES OVERLOOKED

What then is the future of the Tennessee Basin group of white people that is more than 95 per cent. native white, and of the native whites of other Southern States?

In 1910, there were 12,436,092 native whites of native parentage in the Tennessee River Basin group.

Is it too much to say these Anglo-Saxon people have in them the force that will soon become highly commercial and industrial, and with an agricultural position secure, will soon exercise an economic influence that will be felt not alone throughout the Nation, but throughout the world?

Much has been written about the advancement of the negro race since emancipation, but comparatively little has been said about the advancement of the Anglo-Saxon people of the South.

Much has been said about the handicap under which the negro labored when given his freedom. As between the negro and the Southern white man, the negro had an advantage fifty years ago. The negro was the man who performed the manual labor. There were among the negroes skilled artisans who under the tutelage of their former masters were better able to earn a livelihood than the Southern white man.

The Southern whites were under the tutelage of having had little or no training other than general agricultural, commercial and professional training.

The things that tend to develop genius and great commercial and enterprises had been denied to the Southern man, because through the crust of custom opinion would cause him to lose a certain influence in the community, if he got his hands forming the manual labor necessary for such enterprises. There was no dignity.

To the negro, the door of economic opportunity was swung wide and never closed; to the Southern white man, as compared with the other part of the Nation, the door had been opened, and those who desired it had the inclination to develop inventive and commercial genius, public opinion stood guard at the door.

While much has been said about the migration of the negro to the North, little or nothing has been said about the migration of the Southern whites with inventive genius and mechanical skill to the industrial centers of the North. One of the most potent influences to be connected with the future political development of the Nation.

Few men who in the recent past have migrated from the North to the South take an interest in politics; nearly all who do so have been Democrats. It is second nature for a Southern man to take an interest in politics, and when Southern men migrate to the North, a large number of them carry their Democratic policies.

So that, from a political standpoint, the migration of whites between the North and South is favorable to the Democratic party.

A migration of negroes to the North is favorable to the Democratic party, so the Republican campaign committee insists for the negro race what it has not done for the other race. They have issued campaign literature for every one in general, including the negro, then issued special campaign literature for the negro because he is a citizen and not because he is a negro.

No race of people in all the ages has done so much for it from a political standpoint as the negro race.

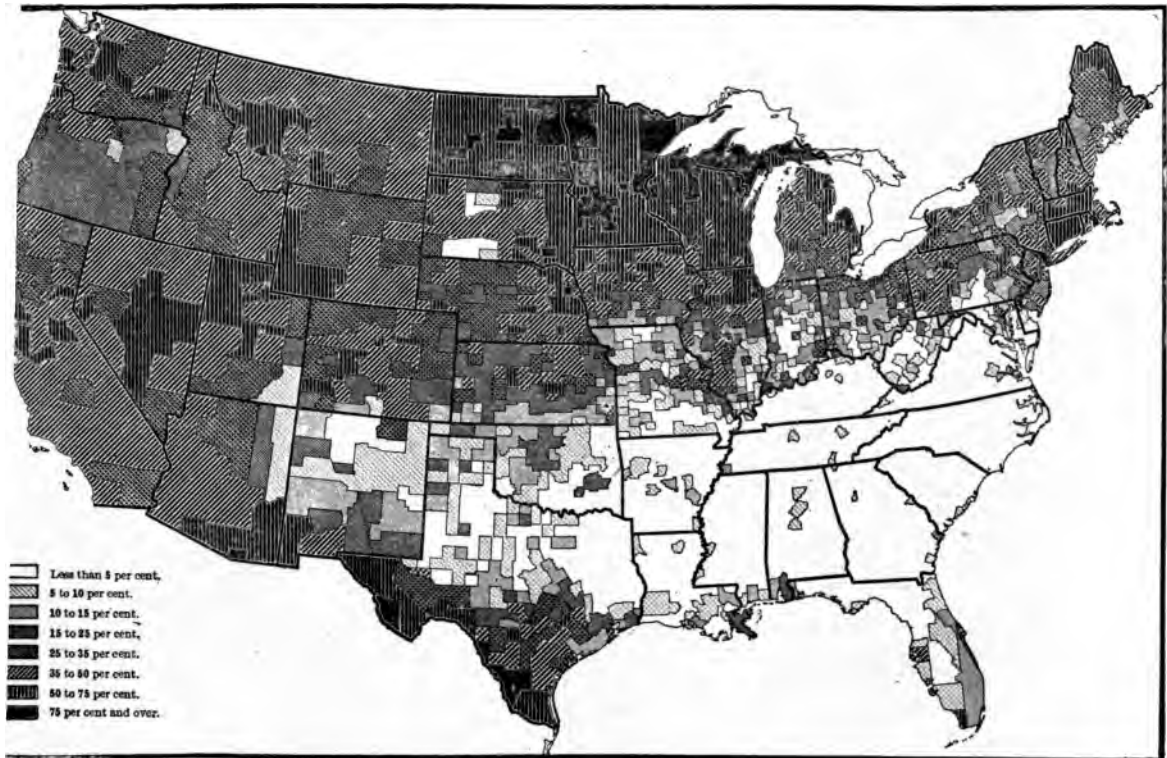
If the Republican party had done as much for the Southern whites in educating them in economic thinking, even though it goes to show that it has done to make a voter of the negro who knows no economics, it would have shown for its work. Instead of having the negro, a liability, it would have a potential asset.

STATISTICS AND POLITICS

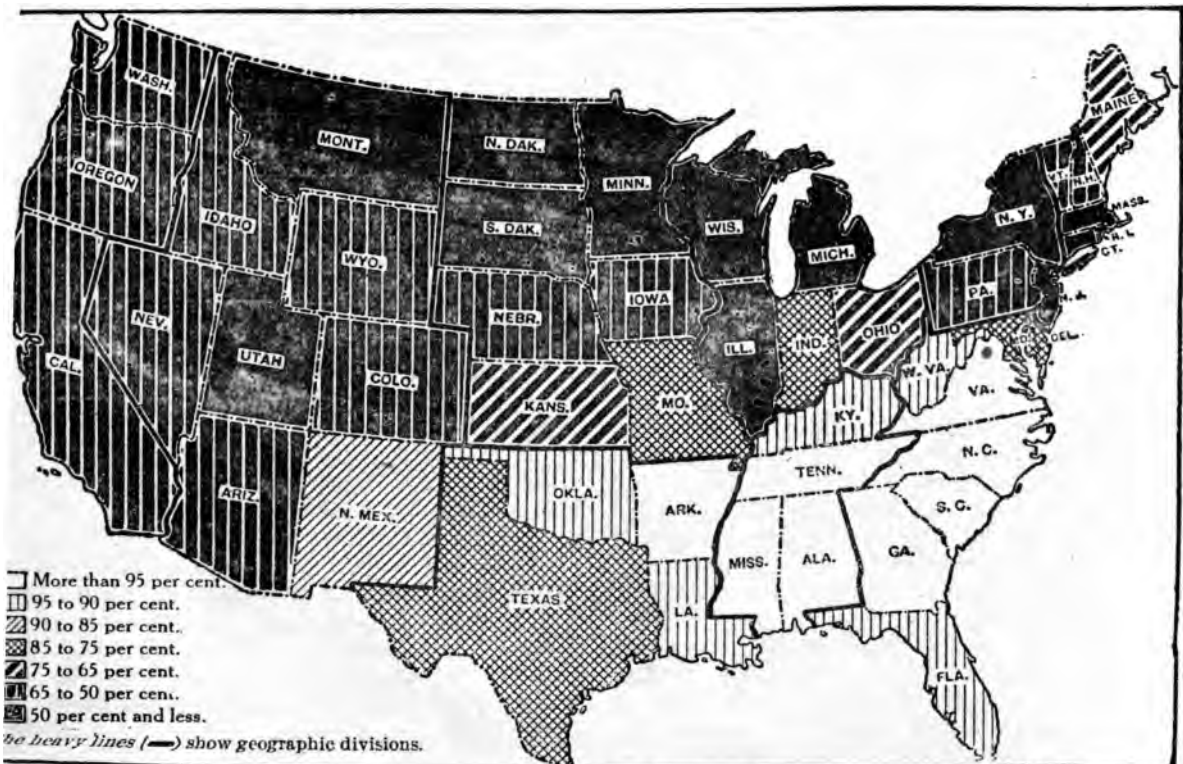
PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES AND NATIVE WHITES OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE COMBINED IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Census of the United States: 1910.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

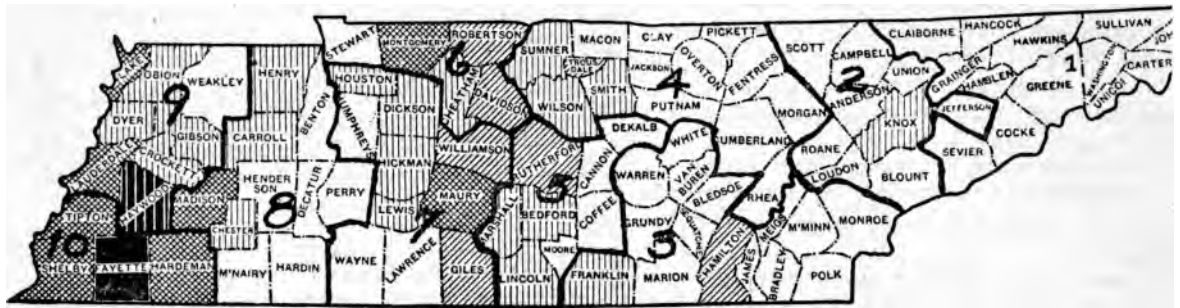


PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE BORN WHITES OF NATIVE PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION: CENSUS 1910



**THE TERRITORY EMBRACED IN THE TENNESSEE BASIN GROUP OF STATES
CAN RIGHTFULLY BE CALLED SAXLAND**

PER CENT OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION OF TENNESSEE, BY COUNTIES: 1910.



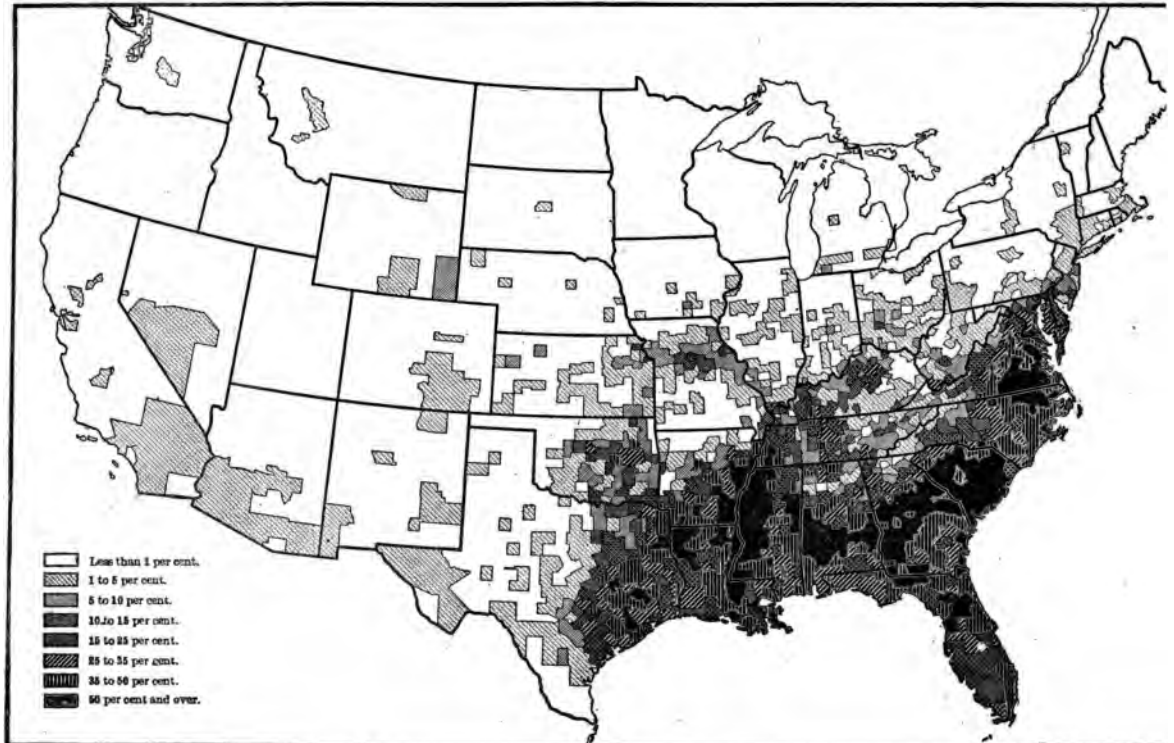
THE HEAVY LINES (—) SHOW CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT DIVISIONS

A greater proportion of the boundaries of Tennessee touch the boundaries of more states than does any other state

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census



XVIII.

**AXON OF THE SOUTH A FUTURE
AMIC FORCE IN THE NATION**

ew order of things, the Southern Anglo- is pushing the door of economic oppor- le open. Within the past twenty years les have been made along this line, and e South is essentially agricultural, as enterprises are developed in the South ern white man is taking a hand in this nt. Technical schools are training men who are having a far-reaching in- seventy-five per cent. of the agricul- r in the South today is performed by

he Selective Service law was passed, enacted legislation more far-reaching ct on the Anglo-Saxon people of the n any other legislation enacted since n was established. Through its opera- were taken from every hamlet occupied roup of people and transported to

of those from America who traveled to : homes of their European ancestors will ey have a greater awakening influence, their visions more, or as they return to e folks have a greater enlightening in- an in those from the South. This is ue of those who only passed through ng camps in America, where they ac- as by contact with their fellow-Ameri- came at a time when these people were economic freedom.

from the mountains whose only knowl- hemistry has been the moonshine still ; only knowledge of mechanics has been s trusted rifle; the man from the delta y observation of executive positions has of plantation management; and the man ills whose only contact with large com- nterprises has been the general store bartered his produce; have each viewed ating positions of those who control with their raw materials turned into anufactured products. They have gazed white heat of industrialism.

percentage of these returning Anglo- s, who had never seen or known any- r than a life of agriculture, will never content to lead such a life. The white dustrialism has burned into their souls, er these men remain in the South or go lustrial centers of the North and East, they reside, they will have a most far- nfluence on the Nation.

As in human nature the things that have been seen cannot be unseen, and the things that have been learned, cannot be unlearned, it will be found that this people who for generations have been called provincial, whose only university has been the open air of nature, and who has attended, for the past fifty ears, the greatest of all primary and secondary schools, the school of ad- versity, is awake, is alert, is dissatisfied; and with dissatisfaction the seeds of development, of prog- ress, and of broad vision, so well known as a part of the innermost nature of the Anglo-Saxon race, have been planted, soon to grow into a mighty oak of many parts.

The man who passed through the training camps in America and Europe and returned from a journey to the home of his European ancestors to the fireside of his father, returned from the battle to save civilization, with those who only passed through the training camps in America, imbued with the spirit and a determination to build a new civilization.

The return with new ideas is welcomed by the men who remained at home and the women left behind, who have removed the mud sills of *laissez faire* and laid the foundations for a new economic life that will be far-reaching in its influence on the Nation and the world. All are imbued with a new spirit of independence, confidence, action and progress.

The leprosy of Bolshevism has no part in the mental make-up of the Anglo-Saxon in the South, whether he wore a uniform in Europe or only in America; or was a soldier between the plow handles or in the counting room. He will not be committed to communism. The virus of social- ism that has inoculated so much of the proletariat of the North and East, will be in him a lifeless germ.

Anglo-Saxon individual liberty is a part of his innermost nature. His fiber toughened on the frontiers of civilization, through all the ages, has fitted him to resist these leprous germs. With his return to the pursuits of peace, and with his nat- ural inherent desire for political discussion, and for political action, there is cause for him to turn and examine the theories and principles that are advanced by political parties and about which he should be enlightened.

He should be enlightened and be able to act in- telligently thereon with a genuine sympathy free from false issues. The preservation of the funda- mentals of Anglo-Saxon government and Anglo- Saxon liberty demands it.

APPENDIX

THE SOUTH TODAY

These excerpts are from "THE SOUTH TODAY," by Dr. John M. Moore, of Nashville, Tennessee, Bishop in the Southern Methodist Church. Copyright, 1916, by Missionary Education Movement of the United States, Canada and New York.

The Southern people, with all their pride in their Anglo-Saxon blood, their boasted heritage from noble leaders, and their marvelous record of progress during the last fifty years, are painfully conscious of their shortcomings and deficiencies. The upheaval of the sixties not only wiped out five thousand million dollars worth of their property, but it destroyed the capacity for creating rapidly any large wealth. They had to go in want of the enriching implements of a great civilization.

They saw powerful educational institutions crowd the North, while their schools struggled and lived distressingly. They watched the growth of strong publishing houses in the North with their enormous output of great books, and the enlarging influence of fine Northern literary weekly journals and monthly magazines, while their own sections went without them.

They have not been unmindful of the marvelous Northern establishments that command wealth, and influence the national life. They have had to depend largely upon Northern capital to build their railroads and then sometimes endure harsh criticism because they were no better. But the Southern people have not been bitter, envious, nor ugly spirited. They loved and love the South with a devotion rarely known in any other people. They are wounded when it is criticised, but they know that criticism is possible if there are any who are inclined to expose their want and weakness. While the masses are not in poverty, in fact are comfortable, they are far from rich.

Many years will pass before there will be any large easy wealth in the South by which great philanthropy may be maintained and the needed higher institutions of learning may be established, equipped and maintained. Without them many who would avail themselves of the advantages which such institutions would afford must go lacking and only the few who can go North or East or abroad will be able to reach the great foundations of knowledge and power. These conditions will change as the nation's wealth, however held, becomes more and more available for the nation's South.

The South today is a thrifty, progressive and inviting section of the United States. The guiding influence in Southern progress has been distinctively Southern. The consciousness of inherent power equal to their responsibilities has possessed the people, and a spirit of self-reliance and commercial and industrial self-direction, without any show of arrogance, has become dominant.

In the morning of a new era the South stands confident but modest, knowing its shortcomings and capabilities, and realizing its possible mastery of both. Its people have their faces to the future, although they revere the past, honor the leaders of the old South, and hold in becoming veneration their heroes of the rostrum

and the battlefield. They are awakening to the priceless value of the magnificent has come to them in the South's tradition its natural resources, advantageous local possibilities of wealth and power.

Their temperament, spirit, manner of life, attitude toward present-day issues give individuality all their own, but not such as them any aloofness from the common hur country. The people of the South are reasonable, adjustable, and devoted to the ends of their home, their country, and religion.

The South today is a learner in its own generating light and power by its own. It has felt the spell of the new sense of nationality and heard the call to produce and to meet the greater-world responsibilities; it has quickened the speed of its own progress, and effort at the removal of its delinquencies, and the dying of its neglects.

The Southerner who really loves his South to see that the day has come when the life of national life must have broad and deep roots through the entire body of the Southern people.

The South has no problem, social or economic or moral that is not of national significance. The South needs new, correlation with other sections, that the rents of the new national life may flow through all parts of this great nation. It needs a new national responsibility in world relations, a new national consciousness which sends to the refining fires to be fashioned into adequate to any demands of the republic.

THE OLD SOUTH AND ITS WORKS ACHIEVEMENTS

From the Manufacturers Record, Baltimore, January 22, 1920

In the course of an address on "The Old South at the annual banquet of the Daughters of the American Revolution, at Daytona, January, 1920, Richard H. Edmonds, of the Manufacturers Record, among other

No other section of this or any other country has been so thoroughly misunderstood, and its extent misrepresented, as the Old South of ante-bellum days made history, but it is sections to write history. The result has been that the South never has received credit for its achievements. Even its own people have been misled by histories written by the people of other countries, and misinformation about their own country. People were never taught about their section.

In the schools and colleges of the South and among the people generally of this section, there is an impression that the Old South was a

people were given wholly to agricultural life, that the planters lived in idleness, with no conception of the great world problems. It is a false view taken of any section. The shadow of a foundation for such a position is asked of a hundred men in the South or in the North, probably 95 per cent. of them will refuse to give a fair description of the Old South.

It was the leading people of the South who were to industrial thought. Long before the Civil War the South had developed a considerable industry, in this respect leading the whole country. It has been well said that the pioneers in Virginia and in the Carolinas were born with an eye for making, and wherever they went they found furnaces and foundries. Washington's interest in the iron industry, and Washington's engineering, laid the foundation of his greatness in peace. Jefferson was largely interested in the manufacture of nails. Prior to the Revolution South Carolina offered a bonus to all who started iron industries, and that State had a development which lasted until its close during the Civil War.

The South was ahead of New England as a manufacturing center. When, however, the invention of the cotton gin made possible the development of cotton on a large scale, with a world hungry for cotton and energy of the South were turned into pursuits into cotton growing. The development of the first half of that century of cotton in the South required greater skill, and a broader view of world requirements, more capital than the development up to the entire industrial activities of the Middle West and States. Without question, the greatest achievement of the first half of that century was by the South of a cotton industry which led the politics and the financial interests of the world.

The price of cotton dropped to an unprofitable level, thought of the South once more turned to industrial development, and during the decade ending 1860 there was a universal revival in the spirit of industrial energy which was the thought of this section prior to the invention of the cotton gin.

The spirit of the South was the fact that it had never built in America was built for the road, and was named "The Best Friend," a realization by the people of the South of the influence which the railroads were giving human affairs. The first railroad was built in the South. The first steamship crossed the Atlantic sailed from a Southern port. The first iron building ever constructed was in a Southern city. The first electric railroad ever built was in the South. The first use of the indicator to run a cotton mill ever made in the country was in South Carolina, and by a Southern man. The first use of illumination in the world's history was in a Southern city. The first use of the opening up of the West to wheat growing with America and Europe, the McCormick invention of a Southern man. Without doubt it would never have been possible to produce the wheat absolutely needed for its

we hear people talking about the "New South" the New South were something en-

tirely different from the "Old South." The New South, or rather the South of today as I prefer to call it, is merely a rebirth of the Old South. It is but the natural and inevitable outcome of the work of the men who, prior to 1860, laid the foundation for the development of this nation. When glorying in the vast territory over which the American flag floats, we must remember that three-quarters of the area of the continental United States came under the American flag through the influence and power of Southern men then controlling affairs in Washington. These old statesmen were world seeing in their vision. It was through them that Florida and the Louisiana purchase and Texas were added to the Union. For the nation they bought land by the millions of acres and at a few cents an acre. They were the largest land traders, getting the biggest bargain that the world ever knew, and when we contemplate the marvelous area of the United States and its boundless resources we should ever give credit to the men of the Old South, who added 75 per cent. to the nation's area and a still larger per cent. to the vastness of the nation's resources.

One of the achievements of the Old South which should forever endear its work to every Christian is that it did the greatest missionary work ever done in human history. The South took millions of slaves, fresh from the barbarism of Africa, men and women who had never heard of the Gospel, many of whom were, indeed, cannibals, so low in the scale of human beings were they, and with a profound sense of responsibility to man and God so trained and civilized and Christianized these people that hundreds of thousands of them became devoted Christians, whose piety stood out conspicuously wherever they were known. These consecrated black men and women, converted through the work of the men and women of the Old South, made possible the extension of the civilizing and Christianizing power of the Gospel to millions of others. This is an achievement by the Old South which, under the providence of Almighty God, brought under the influence of the religion of Christ a larger number of converted men and women than all of the missionary work of all the missionary forces of the last century on all foreign fields ever accomplished. To the men and women of the Old South who, through the blessing of God, were able to accomplish such marvelous results unto His honor and glory we of this day and generation should forever give praise.

It is not surprising that after ten years of reconstruction work, from 1865 to 1876, in this section cursed by men worse than Bolsheviks, whose whole aim was to arouse the antagonism of the negroes to the whites, there was a great retrograde movement among the negroes. The carpet-baggers who flocked to this section for the express purpose of riding into power and looting the country through the votes of the negroes were worse than the Bolsheviks of today. The South had four years of what Sherman rightly called "hell on earth;" but it had ten years following that period of a condition infinitely worse than war. During that ten years the millions of negroes who had been docile, faithful, honest servants were taught to be vicious, were taught to do all in their power to destroy the white man and the white man's government. They were under the influence of the vilest sort of criminals that ever cursed the country, and these criminals flocked to the South like the Bolshevik teachers of Russia have flocked into America and like Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks whom we permitted to go out from America into Russia to overturn and destroy that government. Nowhere in Europe, except perhaps in a limited area of Russia, are

the conditions so bad as those that existed throughout the greater part of the South for ten years after the Civil War.

Many people in this country seemed very much surprised that Germany and its allies were able for four years to hold out against England and France and Italy and Belgium, and for the last year of the war against the United States. But they forget the fact that Germany had been preparing for war for many years. It had developed its strength to the last ounce of efficiency. Every movement had been definitely planned for years, and yet the allies never brought against Germany any such preponderating power as the Union brought against the South.

In 1860 the South had 6,000,000 whites and 4,000,000 blacks; the North had 20,000,000 whites. The South was without an army, without a navy, without guns or ammunition, without a financial system, and, indeed, without any of the power which usually is supposed to be essential to the making of war. Every port from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande was blockaded. It was cut off from trade with the North and West. The Union, on the other hand, with 20,000,000 people, had the commerce of the world open to its ships. It had a navy and an army and a financial system, and it had the whole world at its back. Despite this situation, the South met these overwhelming odds, infinitely greater than Germany ever faced, and for four years carried on the unequal struggle. When it succumbed, and the "thin gray line melted into the dust," the South was in more desperate poverty than is France or Belgium or Italy or Germany. And yet it never cringed; heroically it met the struggle and against the tremendous odds of reconstruction days it re-established law and order; it rebuilt its civilization and saved this mighty sector to Anglo-Saxon civilization. While doing this it sent out from the central South—Virginia to Louisiana—entirely beyond the old Confederate States, nearly 3,500,000 whites, and out into Texas and the Far Southwest 1,500,000 more, thus giving its very life blood to the upbuilding of other regions. The drain of nearly 5,000,000 Southern whites upon the population of this section between 1860 and 1900 was the greatest drain any country has ever had to endure in modern times. The movement of population from the South was forced because of the overwhelming poverty of this section. There was no work to do, while the North and the West and the Pacific Coast were busy and prosperous and begging for workers.

The cost in men and money of this war; the cost of the chaos of the ten years from 1865 until the election of Hayes in 1876, vast as they were, were not as great a burden as was the drain of 5,000,000 of these whites, who left to find opportunities for work in other sections. Every other part of the United States has been enriched by the influx of population from the South.

ANGLO-SAXON SUPREMACY

"The Anglo-Saxon blood has dominated always and everywhere. It fed Alfred when he wrote the charter of English liberty; it gathered about Hampden as he stood beneath the oak; it thundered in Cromwell's veins as he fought his king; it humbled Napoleon at Waterloo; it has touched the desert and jungle with undying glory; it carried the drum beat of England around the world and spread on every continent the gospel of liberty and of God; it established this republic, carved it from the wilderness, conquered it from

the Indians, wrested it from England stilling its own tumult, consecrated the home of the Anglo-Saxon, and in his transcending achievement."

Henry W. Grady, Speech, Dallas, Tex

"It seems to me that all discussion and means to prevent war and plans nations must be based on a union in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon people."

Gen. John J. Pershing, Speech, London

It is, therefore, pertinent to inquire the Anglo-Saxons.

In ancient times many different tribes not entirely Saxons fought and under Saxon leadership. Of these various Saxon leadership those most close with the Saxons were the Angles and

The Saxons were different from those who have been by historians designated as

When the Anglo-Saxons and the Jutes settled north of the Thames, the Angles settled north of the Thames, the Saxons and Jutes settled south of the Thames on the north side of the Thames near

The Angles occupied the greater island and from the land occupied "Angle Land," came the name England

The Cymry, or ancient Britons, who that part of the island brought under the dominion of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, were absorbed in and became part of the people known as Anglo-

The Cymry called all of the conquered island Saxons, whether Jutes, Angles or proper; and that part of the island had been brought under their subjection or Saxon dominions. And, so it is from England are Anglo-Saxons as from Continental Saxons.

The Cymry were by the Romans called Britons and by the Saxons were called inhabitants of Wales today are the people of the people that inhabited England Anglo-Saxons came from the continent

"The Welsh called themselves (the name attached to their descent, in which they inhabited and the generic denoted their race. Cumberland, one of the conquests from the Roman province, was by the Saxons as the land of Cymry, 'y' having the same power as the 'c' in Cumberland."—The Gael and the Welsh, W. Betham, page 388 (1834).

So it is, that when the people first came to the land that is now Tennessee with them an element to which the

art of their ancient traditions, and, to mountains, to a river, and to a plateau they gave the name Cumberland. of the different types of Anglo-Saxons are found today in the dialects of the north and South England, such as the name of "clerk," "bath," and other

s in North England suffered greatly from the numerous invasions by the Danes and other peoples from Continental Europe, and it was the leadership of the Saxon King Alfred that they were expelled.

Through the consolidation of the Heptarchy (seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms) that English rule was established.

Counterpart of the Heptarchy (seven out of which grew the English nation a thousand years ago is seen in the "ANGLO-SAXON WEALTHS" called: Great Britain, New Zealand, India, South Africa and the United States.

These modern Saxon states are not entirely by Anglo-Saxons, the governments of all of them are administered under their leadership.

Of the world has come under the direction of the Anglo-Saxons their history interest.

Among the Saxons, ancient writers and modern times have said of them, "You leaders as you behold rowers, for command, obey and teach," and, "Ship-lines, but does not deter them."

Saxons of the South have been ship-lined not deterred. The discipline of administration of the Anglo-Saxon with respect, has been a factor in developing leadership of the Southern Anglo-Saxons, to obey and to command.

ORIGIN OF THE SAXONS

Following excerpts are from "THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS" from the introduction to the Norman Conquest," eighth volume of Sharon Turner, in 3 volumes, published by Baudry's European Library,

Saxons were the people who transported from the Cimbric peninsula (part of Denmark) to this vicinity, in the fifth and sixth centuries. They were branches of the great Saxon which, from the Elbe, extended itself at the time. The hostilities of this formidable tribe distressed the western regions of Europe. When the Gothic nations overran the most provinces of Rome, the Anglo-Saxons invaded after the Romans quitted it. The ancient name of the progeny of the Roman settlers, and the new conquerors advanced, or ac-

cepted their yoke; and Saxon laws, Saxon language, Saxon manners, government, and institutions, overspread the land.

This revolution, than which history presents to us none more complete, has made the fortunes of the Saxons, during every period, interesting to us. Though other invaders have appeared in the island, yet the effects of the Anglo-Saxon settlements have prevailed beyond every other. Our language, our government, and our laws, display our Gothic ancestors in every part; they live not merely in our annals and traditions, but in our civil institutions and perpetual discourse. The parent tree is indeed greatly amplified, by branches engrafted on it from other regions, and by the new shoots, which the accidents of time, and the improvements of society, have produced; but it discovers yet its Saxon origin, and retains its Saxon properties, though more than thirteen centuries have rolled over, with all their tempests and vicissitudes.

Although the Saxon name became, on the continent, the appellation of a confederacy of nations, yet, at first, it denoted a single state. The Romans began to remark it, during the second century of the Christian era; until that period, it had escaped the notice of the conquerors of the world, and the happy obscurity was rewarded by the absence of that desolation which the ambition poured profusely on mankind.

Saxons First Mentioned by Ptolemy

Ptolemy, the Alexandrian, was the first writer whom we know to have mentioned the Saxons. By the passage in his Geography, and by the concurrence of all their future history, it is ascertained that, before the year 141 of our era there was a people called Saxones, who inhabited a territory at the north side of the Elbe, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and three small islands, at the mouth of this river. From the same author it is also clear that the Saxones were of no great importance at this period; for in this peninsula, which is now (1840) divided into Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, no fewer than six other nations were stationed, besides the Saxones and the remnant of the Cimbric.

But it is not probable that the Saxons should have started suddenly into existence, in the days of Ptolemy. The question of their previous history has been therefore much agitated; and an equal quantity of learning and of absurdity has been brought forward upon the subject.

Europe was early occupied by the Kimmerian and Celtic races. The next stream of barbaric tribes, whose progress toward the second great influx of population into Europe, were the Scythian, German and Gothic tribes. They also entered it out of Asia. It is of importance to recollect the fact of their primeval locality, because it corresponds with this circumstance, that Herodotus, besides the main Scythia, which he places in Europe, also mentions an Eastern or Asiatic Scythia, beyond the Caspian and Iaxartes. As these newcomers pressed on the Kimmerians and Kelts, their predecessors, those nations retired toward the western and southern extremities of Europe, pursued still by the Scythian invaders. The new wave of population gradually spread over the mountains, and into the vast forests and marshes of Europe, until, under the name of Germans, an appellation which Tacitus calls a recent name, they had not only reached the Rhine, but had also crossed it into France. Here Caesar found one great body firmly settled, descended from them, whom he calls Belgae, though its component states had their peculiar denominations besides a very large force of recent German invaders, under the command of Ariovistus.

This second stock of the European population is peculiarly interesting to us, because from its branches not only our own immediate ancestors, but also those of the most celebrated nations of modern Europe, have unquestionably descended. The Anglo-Saxons, Lowland Scotch, Normans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, Dutch, Belgians, Lombards and Franks, have all sprung from that great foundation of the human race, which we have distinguished by the terms Scythian, German or Gothic.

The ancient languages of these nations prove their ancient affinity, the contiguous chronology of their first origin, and their common derivation; and afford evidences of these truths, from which every one may satisfy his doubts or his curiosity. We have works still existing in the ancient Gothic and Saxon, as well as in the Frankish and Icelandic, in which the philologist will easily perceive their mutual relationship. The comparison of these with the modern German, Danish, Dutch, Swedish and Flemish, will equally demonstrate the kinship between the ancient parents and their existing descendants.

SCYTHIANS IN ASIA

The first appearance of the Scythian tribes in Europe may be placed, according to Strabo and Homer, about the eighth, or according to Herodotus, in the seventh century before the Christian era. Herodotus likewise states, that the Scythians declared their nation to be more recent than any other, and that they reckoned only one thousand years between Targitaos, their first king, and the aggression of Darius. The first scenes of their civil existence, and of their progressive power, were in Asia, to the east of the Araxes. Here they multiplied and extended their territorial limits, for some centuries, unknown to Europe. Their general appellation among themselves was Scoloti, but the Greeks called them Scythians, Scythoi or Nomades.

To this judicious and probable account of Herodotus, we add the information collected by Diodorus. He says, that the Scythians, formerly inconsiderable and few, possessed a narrow region on the Araxes; but, by degrees, they became more powerful in numbers and in courage. They extended their boundaries on all sides; till at last they raised their nation to great empire and glory.

One of their kings becoming valiant and skillful in the art of war, they added to their territory the mountainous regions about Caucasus, and also the plains toward the ocean, and the Palus Maeotis, with the other regions near the Tanais. In the course of time they subdued many nations, between the Caspian and the Maeotis, and beyond the Tanais. Thus, according to Diodorus, the nation increased, and had kings worthy of remembrance. The Sakai, the Massagetai, and the Arimaspoi, drew their origin from them.

The Massagetai seem to have been the most eastern branch of the Scythian nation. Wars arising between them and the other Scythic tribes, an emigration from the latter took place according to the account which Herodotus selects, as in his opinion the most authentic, which occasioned their entrance into Europe. Such feuds and wars have contributed, more than any other cause, to disperse through the world its uncivilized inhabitants.

SCYTHIANS ENTER EUROPE

The emigrating Scythians crossed the Araxes, passed out of Asia, and invading the Kimmerians, suddenly appeared in Europe in the seventh century before the Christian era. Part of the Kimmerians flying into Asia Minor, some of the Scythian hordes pursued them; but

turning in a direction different from that the Kimmerians traversed, they missed their way and fell unintentionally upon the Medes. The Medes, pressed on toward Egypt, and got parts of Asia for twenty-eight years, till the king of Media, at last expelled them.

The Scythian tribes, however, continued in Europe; and, in the reign of Darius, the colonies were sufficiently numerous and excited the ambition of the Persian monarch to capture of Babylon; but all his efforts failed. In the time of Herodotus, they had an important footing in Europe. They seem to have entered it, from the Tanais to the Danube, and taken a westerly direction; but their kindred in Thrace, had extended also to the south. A northward ramification in Europe was the Roxolani, who dwelt above the Borysthenes, the Dnieper.

It would be impertinent to the great sultry history, to engage in a minuter discussion of the tribes. They have become better known in recent periods, under the name of Getae and under the name of Goths, the most celebrated of their branches.

As they spread over Europe, the Kimmerian population retired toward the west and east. The days of Caesar the most advanced tribes of the Gothic race, were known to the Roman name of Germans. They occupied all the coast of the Cimbric peninsula, and had reached the Rhine. One of their divisions, the Belgae, some time established themselves in Flanders of France, and another body, under Ariovistus, attempting a similar settlement near the coast, which Caesar prevented. It is most probable that the Belgae in Britain were descendants of invaders from the Belgae in Flanders and (

The names Scythians and Scoloti were, like the Kimmerians, not so much local as generic. The different tribes of the Scythians, like the Kimmerians and Gauls, had their peculiar denominations.

THE SAKAISUNA PROBABLY THE

The Saxons were a German or Teutonic Gothic or Scythian tribe; and of the various nations which have been recorded, the Sakas are the people from whom the descent of the Saxons may be inferred, with the least violation of probability. Sakai-suna, or the sons of the Sakai, abbreviated to Saksun, which is the same sound as Sax, is a reasonable etymology of the word Saxon. The name who in Latin are called Sacae, were an important part of the Scythian nation. They were so called by the Persians called all the Scythians by the name of Sacae; and Pliny, who mentions this, ranks among the most distinguished people of Scythia. They placed them eastward of the Caspian, and to have made many incursions on the Kimmerians, both far and near. They seized Bagratid the most fertile part of Armenia, which, derived the name Sakasina; they defeated them when they reached the Cappadoces on the Euxine. An important fact of a part of Armenia having been taken by the Sakasina, is mentioned by Strabo in another place. It seems to give a geographical locality to the ancestors, and to account for the Persian name occurring in the Saxon language as they must have entered into Armenia from the northern regions of Asia. It is the call of the blood that causes the Saxons of America to heed the Armenian cry for

16 of the divisions of this people were really asuna, is obvious from Pliny; for he says, akai, who settled in Armenia, were named which is but Sakasuna, spelt by a person ed with the meaning of the combined words. me Sacasena, which they gave to the part of ey occupied, is nearly the same sound as t is also important to remark, that Ptolemy a Scythian people, sprung from the Sakai, ne of Saxones. If the Sakai, who reached were called Sacassani, they may have tra- ope with the same appellation; which being l by the Romans from them, and then re- writing from their pronunciation, may have with the x instead of the ks, and thus Sax- l not be a greater variation from Sacassani a, than we find between French, Francois, between Spain, Espagne, and Hispania.

at all improbable, but that some of these Sakai, or Sacassani, were gradually pro- he western coasts of Europe, on which they by Ptolemy, and from which they molested i Empire, in the third century of our a was a people called Saxoi, on the Euxine, to Stephanus. We may consider these also of the same parentage, who, in the wander- Sakai from Asia to the German Ocean, were a Euxine, as others had chosen to occupy We may here recollect the traditional descent eserved by Snorre in the Edda and his his- great ancestor of the Saxon and Scandi- eftains is represented to have migrated from the east of the Tanais called Asgard, and a lled Asaland, which imply the city and land e or Asians. The cause of this movement rogress of the Romans. Odin is stated to d first into Russia, and thence into Saxony. improbable. The wars between the Romans dates involved and shook most of the barns in these parts, and may have excited the l imposed the necessity of a westerly or migration.

ramifications of the Scythians, Saxons and ad toward the Germanic Ocean, the Slavonic ved after them from Asia. The Saxon was Gothic states, and it was as far west as the a day of Ptolemy. The Saxons were, there- likelihood, as ancient visitors of Europe ier Gothic tribe. Their situation seems to at they moved among the foremost columns nd great emigration into Europe. ent Saxon standard on the continent was the tion of A LION and A DRAGON with AN .YING ABOVE; intended to be symbols of ry, prudence and rapidity.

nt state of the Saxon people, when the Rom- bserved them, exhibited nothing from which acity would have predicted greatness. A ter- he neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus (part of n 1920) and three small islands, contained se descendants occupy the circle of West- electorate of Saxony, the British Islands, the tes of North America, and the British col- a two Indies. (Since this was written in 1840, straila, New Zealand, and South Africa have at Saxon States.)

the course of Providence, that empires the ided, and the most formidable, are found to the morning mist; while tribes scarcely vis- temptuously overlooked, like the springs of -liver, often glide on gradually to greatness ion.

"Though ages long have past
Since our Fathers left their home
Their pilot in the blast,
Over untraveled seas to roam,
Yet lives the blood of Saxons in our Veins."
—Washington Allston.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO

When negroes were being brought from Africa to America "a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion of those brought to our country; some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow. The chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery."

"They came with the limited facilities of un- civilized man; when they met on our soil, they were as strange to one another as to their masters. Coming from places in Africa a thousand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them, no common language, no abiding us- ages, no worship, no nationality. They were des- titute of common traditions, customs, and laws and were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other."

"A new problem in the history of man was now to be solved. For the first time the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a Temperate Zone."
—Bancroft History of the United States, Vol. 1, pp. 177, 403, 406 (1840).

The people in the United States whose ances- tors came from Africa because they speak only the English language, do not become Anglo-Sax- ons or their descendants Caucasians.

The following excerpts are from "THE NEGRO AT HOME, an inquiry after his capacity for self government and the government of whites for controlling, leading, directing, or co-operating in the civilization of the age." by Lindley Spring of New York, published by the author in 1868.

It is interesting to note that the right of suf- frage was conferred on the negro in 1868, the year this book was published; and, it is interesting to examine the ideas expressed therein, in the light of the history of fifty years since it was pub- lished.

Whether the author was correct in his analysis is submitted to the serious consideration of stu- dents of history and to those who are molders of public opinion. Whether the theories of idealists make for human progress and stability in govern- ment can only be determined after they have been subjected to the test of actual practice and the results recorded in the pages of history.

THE NEGRO AT HOME

Caucasian and Negro; the two extremes of mankind: that, the superior, active, ruling race; this, the inferior, passive, subject race. Thus says monumental history, so far back, at least, 2300 B. C.; thus says all history and tradition, from the remotest period to the present time. Wherever, and however, the two races have been brought in contact or comparison, this testimony has been given—for ages. It stands now (1868) undisputed by a single fact, corroborated by scientific investigation and the evidence of our senses in daily experience.

Our witnesses testify furthermore that—this is no arbitrary classification of the two races, but one originating in the nature of things, and caused by specific differences of race; that—those differences are permanent, not to be effaced by time or change of climate, or modes of life; that—the Caucasian and the negro are “distinct” human beings, men whose relations to the outer world are by no means the same;” that—while circumstances may develop a higher type of the Caucasian and a modified type of the negro; yet, the Caucasian cannot become a negro, nor the negro a Caucasian, any more than the palm can become an oak, or the oak a palm—yet, of the latter, both are trees, as—of the former, both are men.

Our witnesses also testify that—intermixture of the two races is contrary to nature and the well being of man; that it brings corruption of blood and confusion; breeds a class generally short-lived and in a few generations sterile. Or half castes, in the course of a few generations, return to the black color of the maternal ancestor.

Over the extensive and varied region bounded—on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, on the south by the great Sahara, have passed ages of social and political change. It was the cradle of progress, the nursery and school of the arts and sciences, the theater of great events, and no less famous in the history of civilization than of religion. It has been occupied, successively, by the most adventurous and capable of the nations and tribes of Asia and Europe. Each, in its turn, has flourished for a time and passed away, leaving only splendid ruins, great memories, a mingled, degenerate, depraved people.

The prime cause of those melancholy transitions is well known. It was the physical, moral and social debasement engendered by an infusion of negro blood. Not by mixing equal parts of both less than that sufficed, had to suffice. Negroes in anything like equal numbers to the Caucasian were not present.

Between Central and Northern Africa was an ocean of sand, nearly a thousand miles wide, extending from the Atlantic to the Nile. Until the introduction of camels, since the Christian Era, that ocean of sand was almost as impassable as if it were of fire. The Nile was the only route by which the negro reached the civilized countries. They never came down in numbers sufficient to constitute any considerable portion of the inhabitants.

*The constitution adopted in 1851 in the State of Indiana (modern frontier of the South) provided that, “No negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State after the adoption of this constitution,” and that:

“All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into the state contrary to the provisions of the foregoing section shall be void; and any person who shall employ such negro, or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the state, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.”

Under certain conditions, negro virus, like c

ons, has a power of diffusion superior to pure
It is a very interesting circumstance, that, a
thousand years ago, Egypt guarded the third c
the Nile to prevent the influx of negroes. A
tion on the rocks near that place, has been r
as follows:

“Frontier of the South. Done in the VIII
King Sesourtesen (III) ever living; in orde
may not be permitted to any negro to pass
navigating.”*

In these latter days, have appeared those
the truth of the testimony concerning the negr
correctness of the conclusions drawn from
denounce experience, contradict the senses, a
from the judgment of Time.

They declare our classification of the rac
and insist that the negro is in all respects eq
Caucasian, and is entitled to association with
ically, morally, socially, on equal terms.

These singular pretensions were not conce
brain of the negro; strange to say, they b
purely Caucasian lineage. They are the w
corrupt issue of certain white men, a sort
tological reformer, who live remote from the
their passionate benevolence, and have little c
tical knowledge of them—but,

“Distance lends enchantment to the vi

They are in ecstasies over—they know n
or—in a sense—they do.

Government and society are one thing to
another thing to the Mongolian, whether C
Chinese; still another thing to the Caucasian
Celt, Teuton or Anglo-Saxon. Each have su
adapted to their nature and necessities.

THE CAUCASIAN AND NEGRO

Who, and what is this Caucasian?

It is the race of action—God-like action; re
indomitable; industrious, self-reliant, emerge
audacious, enterprising, adventurous. It is t
progress; ambitious, inquiring; full of ex
purposes, plans; is never through, never done
its journey's end—but, always pressing al
reaching ahead.

It is—the race—of heroes, conquerors,
statesmen, legislators; the race of patriarchs
apostles, martyrs; the race of thinkers, sc
ventor, artists, teachers.

In peace and in war, all other races, and all
of the physical world do honor to its intellig
domineering nature. He toils without ceasing
continually to the great common stock of kno
material wealth, which constitute power, urg
and promote the welfare of mankind.

The Caucasian claims certain principles as
of all good government.

Those principles are—relative duties, relat
the absolute rights of life, liberty, and prop
—the greatest good of all.

It is no small matter to govern a race of Cai

The white people of the South are Caucasian

The black people of the South are negroes.
to have lost sight of this fact.

Which brings us to the next important inqu
does it mean—to give political supremacy to t
of the South?

It means that they are to govern that coun
personal, social, political, and religious affa
labor and business; in all private and pu
prises; in all earnings, savings and accumul

"I ASK THAT WE IN
THIS GENERATION
PROVE OURSELVES
THE SPIRITUAL
HEIRS BOTH OF THE
MEN WHO WORE
THE BLUE AND OF
THE MEN WHO
WORE THE GRAY."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Speech at Kansas City
May 30th, 1918